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University of California Publications in

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

VOLUME XXIV

1927-1930

EDITORS
A. L. KROEBER
ROBERT H. LOWIE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

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[Title Page 2]

YOKUTS-MONO CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

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A. H. GAYTON

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
Volume 34, No. 8, pp. 361-420
Issued October 31, 1930

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON, ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not exactly what the title perhaps implies: it does not purport to be a discussion of social organization, nor of religion as such. While descriptions of political organization and the chief's place in it, of religious ideas, concepts of the supernatural, and the shaman's relation to them, of ceremonial activities, and of other cultural miscellanea, must appear here, they are not offered as topics of primary interest, but rather as stage settings and properties against which the chiefs and shamans play their interacting rôles. It would no doubt be simpler to define the chiefs as legal officials in a static social setting, and to relegate the shamans to their place as professional doctors; but in so doing we would have only a partial picture, and that a conventional one, of these functionaries. Native informants on first inquiry invariably describe their chiefs as the official leaders of the political unit, adding as other officials messengers, dance managers, and in some instances, subchiefs. Shamans are never recognized as officials. Yet all informants supply anecdotal evidence which shows that the shamans, unofficially,

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were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

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A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a rancheria near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

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121 considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

128 Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The original data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same [192] sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds.

104 The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	ċ: as in English shout
i: as in English pique	ñ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	tc: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

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TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

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361 had two, perhaps others had three or four. Whether the number of villages was in direct ratio with the size of the tribal population is not known; the villages of a large tribe may have been no more numerous than those of a small tribe, merely being larger, or vice versa.

Locations of villages naturally were geographically determined. Thus practically all those described by informants were convenient to a good water supply; many were on small open flats at the water's edge, as Gutsnumi, a Wukchumni village on the Kaweah river, and Kitceyu, an Entimbich site (now Dunlap, Fresno county), or on a slight hill near a creek as Tcitatu, a Waksachi site in Eshom valley. Sunlight was regarded as desirable, as would be expected for winter habitation. The villages of the plains Yokuts along the edge of Tulare lake and in the network of sloughs approaching the lake were on such rises of ground as were available.

The appearance of these villages differed somewhat in the plains and in the foothills. In the open valley houses were invariably of tule mats, the most convenient material. They were placed in two long rows facing each other, with the chief's house in the center and with his messengers established at each end.[7] My Chunut informant said, "the houses looked just like a street." One Chunut chief, Kanti, had his house apart from the village on a little eminence of land, but this was perhaps a modern innovation. The houses were large and accommodated several persons. Little storehouses or storage bins were scattered here and there. Not far from the water's edge a sweat-house or two emerged from the ground.

361 In the foothills houses were of tule when available but more often
184 of brush or grass thatch, or in the mountains of cedar bark slabs. There was no village plan: houses were scattered about, storage bins roosted on rock ledges, officials lived where they would. The Kechayi Yokuts and perhaps other northern foothill Yokuts placed their houses in a single row with the chief's at the west end if the ground of the village site permitted such an arrangement, but such cases were uncommon. The sweat-houses were always near a swimming hole if there was one. The dance and assembly space was usually out at one side of the village. Occasionally a dance place occurred as a separate site, but was never more than a mile from a village. Visitors at
[574] ceremonies camped under shades near the dance space during their stay.

[7] Kroeber, Handbook, 497.

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With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name.

The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered.

The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing.

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection.

[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

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614 Among the North Fork Mono all chiefs were derived from the eagle
622 moiety.[9] All members of the lineage venerated the totem, and were
825 called by the term for chief, tiya or ti'a'a (Y), and poginape (WM), though only one member of a family at a time actually held the office.

624 Similarly the position of messenger, winatum (Y), natinab (WM),
614 concurred with the dove totem. Chiefs' and shamans' messengers
825 were called by the same term and had the same totem. Roadrunner was also a messenger's totem among the Western Mono.

Two other officials, subchief and dance manager, appear in certain tribes but are not common to all Yokuts and Western Mono. Eagle was the subchief's totem. These men were usually distant male relatives of the acting chief. Raven was the dance manager's totem. A third official occurred among the Kechayi, Chunut, and perhaps other Yokuts: this was the official spokesman or intermediary between the chief and the people at large. Magpie is said to be his totem. It is indefinite whether this position was inherited or acquired through a dream helper. The evidence suggests the former. The North Fork Mono had the official speaker who was called yadohati. He did not inherit his position but was selected for his talent in speaking.[10]

614 Other totemic lineages had certain activities that were exclusively
825 their own; these were ceremonial rather than political. Men having
424 rattlesnake as totem conducted the rattlesnake ceremony held each spring; persons of the bear totem gave a dance in the fall; the clowning performance at the rattlesnake ceremony was enacted by members of the coyote lineage. Other totems than these existed but apparently had no political or ceremonial offices connected with them.

614 The differentiation between these totemic, inherited animals and
787 those acquired during life as dream helpers must always be borne
825 in mind. They were never confused in the native mind though often referred to by the same term, namely, dog.[11]

624 There were then, as political officials, chiefs, winatums, and, vari-
773 ably, subchiefs, dance managers, and spokesmen. According to native belief these officials are ancient institutions, in fact their original and only ones. South central Californian mythology is at least in part a rationalization of their present political and totemic system as it reflects a similar social order.

[9] Gifford, field notes, 1915. The buzzard moiety could obtain a chief only by buying a man for the position from the eagle moiety.

[10] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

[11] Yokuts: pus, pu'us, poca, and teeese; Western Mono: puk, mapuk, and ibuk.

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OFFICIALS IN MYTHOLOGY

Both Yokuts and Western Mono mythology tell of a world which existed before this one. It was inhabited by supernatural creatures called by bird and animal names. They had the attributes of both humans and animals: they flew, walked, talked, and were capable of superhuman activities. These creatures lived in a social atmosphere comparable to that of later human times. Eagle was the chief.[13] He was a wise and generous person. Dove was his winatum whom he sent about on errands. Magpie was a wise man whom Eagle sometimes consulted. Coyote was a person with much supernatural power: he was a friend and companion to Eagle though the latter had often to chide and correct him for his irresponsible behavior. Owl was a powerful shaman. These animals lived before and during a great primeval flood. They finally became tired of the watery world, and caused the waters to recede and the land to appear as it is today.

There are many tales telling of the animals' activities and adventures during the post-alluvial period which was prior to the creation of human beings. Prairie Falcon, Coyote, and Wolf have the most prominent rôles in these tales. Eagle's part in them is always in keeping with his position as chief. He lives in a dignified manner in his home in a rock cliff. He has no adventures himself but is a judicial manager in many important crises and events. He sends various animals to obtain fire;[14] he directs Coyote in his theft of the sun and subsequent fixing of the sun in its present place;[15] he sends Dove after Measuring Worm to rescue two boys trapped upon a precipitous rock;[16] he asks Magpie's advice for Coyote, who wants to marry Hawk Woman;[17] he discusses permanent death with Coyote, and asks Owl to kill Coyote's son as an original experiment with death.[18] It is Eagle who finally decides that human beings are to be created, and that the birds and animals must go to live elsewhere.[19]

[13] Gifford, Western Mono Myths (JAFL, 36:302-367, 1923), 353; Kroeber, Myths of South Central California, this series, 4:206, 209, 219, 224, 229, 230, 240, 1907; Yokuts and Western Mono tales in author's field notes. The Wobonuch and Wakaschi versions also mention Prairie Falcon as chief, which was in harmony with actual practice.

[14] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 211; Dumna (Y), Wukchumni (Y), Wobonuch (WM), author's field notes.

[15] Tachi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 213; Wakaschi (WM), author's notes.

[16] Kechayi (Y), author's notes.

[17] Gashowu (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 206.

[18] Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

[19] Truhohi (Y), Kroeber, *Ibid.*, 210, 211; North Fork Mono, Gifford, *Ibid.*, 317; Wakchumni (Y), Wakaschi (WM), Wobonuch (WM), author's notes.

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The following Wukchumni (Y)-tale is typical, and shows Eagle's position and power, and Dove as his messenger:[19]

In the old days there was nothing in this world. It was just full of water. The birds and animals were here first. Eagle said: "I'm tired of living over this water, I want a little oak to grow up there in the middle." This happened.

There were also present five varieties of ducks, Haiyano, Hohoda, Wacicina, Teututpoi, and a very little one. They were going to try to get some dirt up from under the water. Eagle sent Dove after some tobacco which he needed to mix with the sand. Dove got it and gave it to the chief. Eagle said to the littlest duck: "Can you go to the bottom and get some sand?" He tied a milkweed string to the duck's foot, and the bird dived into the water. He stayed down all day and half the night. He died without striking the bottom. Eagle pulled him out, and restored him to consciousness. The little duck told his friends that he had not reached the bottom. All the other ducks tried with the same result.

Then Eagle called on Turtle to try. He said he was willing. He went down and remained under the water a whole day and a whole night. He was nearly dead when he came up to the surface. While he was under the water he had barely succeeded in scratching the bottom with his finger tips. Some sand was lodged under his finger nails. Eagle got out this sand.

Eagle, the chief, then rolled the sand and tobacco together and pounded them in a mortar. He took up a handful of the mixture and scattered it toward the south, east, north, and lastly toward the west. As he did so he said: "In twelve days all this water will go down." This happened. All the birds and animals were able to walk about on the ground.

Finally these creatures got tired of just staying about doing nothing. Eagle and Wolf were bored too. Eagle sent Dove to call all the people together. He said: "Go tell these people to come out and listen to what I am going to say."

When Dove went to get Bear he had to run from him as Bear killed every man who came near him. They ran a race to a gap in the hills. Bear said: "You run and I'll catch you." But Dove ran faster and won. Bear agreed to come to the meeting.

At the place where the animals gathered there was a big fire. The chief told his people that they could all live elsewhere and do as they pleased. Some liked the mountains; others could'live in the flat. Then he told them what they were to be. He was Eagle and he flew off.

The abrupt close of this tale is atypical. Another Wukchumni informant gave the complete form. But the conclusion of the Bird-animal period in which Eagle was the creator-chief is best exemplified in the following Wakuechi-Michahai version:[20]

Sun and fire were now established. Eagle, the chief, gathered all the people around him to listen. He said: "There are going to be human beings here in this world. We are going to be different kinds of people. We will put up one man and one woman in each place. Now these people will die and be burned; their bones will be put in a spring of water. On the second dawn they will rise up and come toward us talking. But after this one rebirth they will never come alive again."

[19] Told in English by Joe Pabet, 1925.
[20] Told in English by Sam Osborn, 1926.

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The animals all agreed to this. They said they didn't die any way so they had nothing to lose by it.

"Now," said Eagle, "We have to be different kinds of people. We will give them names and tell them where to live. There will be one couple for each kind of tribe."

Then he named over every kind of people and said where they were to live, Michahai, Wakaschi, Wukchumni, Choinimni, all. At this time he was just telling how it was going to be. Coyote spoke up and said this plan was all right, and all the others agreed. Then all the birds came and asked what they were going to be. Eagle told them that it would take a long time to get all this done; that they would just have to sit up and wait. Coyote told his nephew to be sure and leave no one out. Eagle then appointed a pair for each tribe. Then he thought it all over to make sure he had not omitted any of the tribes which he intended to create. The remaining animals wanted to know what was to become of them with all these people filling up the world. Eagle said that they would just have to keep on being birds and animals, and that they must fly off as he calls out their names. Then he named each variety telling them where they are to live and what they are to do.

"Eagle is to be chief."

"Dove, you are to be winatum, you are to help chiefs at their ceremonies. And you must help doctors. You must paint them up and put on their hats."

"Owl, any man that wants to be doctor has to follow you; he has to go out in the night. He can't be a doctor until the middle of his life; he will call for you. You will live in hollow trees anywhere. You will eat squirrels, wood rats, and cottontails, but you will go out only at night."

When Eagle had given directions to everybody he said: "Now we can't stay here. We have to go off just like I've been telling you and be birds and animals." All the animals agreed and said the human beings could use them just as they wished to.[21] Eagle again said that the time to go had come, for the rest to go on and he and Coyote would follow. So they all flew or walked off except Eagle, Coyote, and Dog. Coyote was dissatisfied; he wanted to know what he was going to do. He said he wanted to be Eagle and fly off too. Eagle stopped and rebuked him. Then he told Coyote to be Coyote. He said Dog would be his friend, that they would run about together. He added that if Dog didn't like Coyote he could go and live with the new people. Then Eagle said, "I'll be Eagle," and flew away.

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The foregoing myths, or myth fragments, show the chief as an institution of prehistoric antiquity who in human times held his position as successor to Eagle himself. He was an earthly surrogate for Eagle who, in native beliefs, as formulated in religious practices and mythology, was the creator and supreme chief of the world.

[21] For food, skins, etc., and as patrons in the acquisition of supernatural power.

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THE CHIEF

SOCIAL STATUS

554 The social organization of the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes was exceedingly simple. There was a complete absence of anything like a class or caste system. With the exception of the chief's and winatum's lineages, which were mildly aristocratic, any man was as good as his neighbor. This does not mean that there was a failure to recognize differences between individuals. But the differences of influential superiority or inferiority grew out of qualities inherent in the person himself, such as his abilities to acquire wealth or supernatural power, or to be an inspiring orator. Though wealth was [556] regarded as desirable, and a wealthy man was respected for his possessions, the actual range of financial extremes was not great. There was no wealthy class. The annual mourning ceremonies at which much property was destroyed and more distributed among the attend- 769 ants, dispossessed a bereaved family of such wealth as it might have accumulated. The casting away of gifts at mourning ceremonies had the further advantage of keeping money and coveted objects in circulation. One might say that among the Yokuts and Western Mono the per capita wealth had a low mean deviation.

787 To seek assistance from supernatural powers for success in gambling, hunting, or general good health and fortune was anyone's privilege. This was accomplished through dreams of animals and birds, as of Eagle for wealth, Mountain Lion for hunting, etc., which were acquired by the use of a tobacco emetic, a day-to-week-long meat fast, and praying to the animal both before and after its dream appearance. Relatively simple as were the rules for gaining supernatural help, many persons thought them too troublesome and preferred to ignore them. Thus it was that in south central Californian society an individual attained success by his own inherent abilities and [554] energy; the intelligently industrious person, perhaps encouraged by belief that sacred powers were aiding him, would, other things being equal, find himself in a better social and financial position than his stupid or less enterprising neighbor.

622 As a citizen in the community the chief possessed social prestige based primarily on his revered totem and authoritative office, and secondarily upon the wealth that accrued to him because of his posi-

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tion. His position was acquired by heredity. Normally the office passed from an elder brother to the next younger, and then reverted to the elder brother's eldest son.[22] This rule was not rigid, however, and was modified in accordance with circumstance. When a chief became too enfeebled with sickness or age to continue his duties he would say whom he wanted to take his place. If his choice was acceptable to the other chiefs and elder men of the village, a gift of money was sent to the nominee. The man chosen did not have to accept the office unless he wished to.

The chief's house was perhaps larger than that of others but not necessarily or markedly so. Neither was the dress of a chief or of the members of his family distinctive. Powers states that chiefs wore their hair long, but so did all men, according to my informants.[23] The food storehouses of the chief were always well filled. He did not hunt himself. Food was provided for the chief's family by young hunters in the village. Such men were not permanently appointed for the task, but would be dispatched by the winatums to get fresh meat or fish for the chief. Informants disagree as to whether the chief paid for his provisions or not, but the weight of evidence indicates that he did not. The chief had to have a plentiful food supply for it was his duty to offer a meal to every traveler, foreign messenger, or stranger, who entered his village. Furthermore, the chief or his wife gave meat to extremely poor people or those who had difficulty in obtaining sufficient food, as the aged or widowed. Such people would accept the food and if possible would return a little acorn meal to the chief when they had an extra supply. A basket might be given in return. Such a return was prompted by courtesy and gratitude, and was not compulsory.

The Chunut (Y) informant described feasts given by the chief.[24] These apparently were non-ceremonial—primitive dinner parties perhaps.

> Kanti, the chief, had a big house on a hill near this rancheria. Many people could get in there; it was where he lived. He held parties there. His wife and other old ladies would gather seeds and cook them. Any stranger might go regardless of his moiety affiliation. Every guest brought some food with him, but the chief paid him a little money for it. This was just for a good time. Nobody paid the chief (as was done at the mourning ceremony). After dinner some men might dance and women with them: wiki hatim tupan toino (little dance half night). Such dancers dressed up or not just as they liked, wearing a feather headdress or skirt, or painting their faces.

[22] See genealogy, Western Mono, Wakaachi 1, and Yokuts; Entimbich, Appendix.
[23] *Op. cit.*, 371.
[24] Josie Alonzo; see Appendix.

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595 622 While polygamy occurred among Yokuts and Western Mono it was not frequent. The chief was more likely than other men to have two wives. This was partly because of his wealth which permitted him to pay for and support them, and also because of the more numerous household duties in his menage. The chief's wives must have food [574] ready for immediate preparation at all times because of the hospitality extended to visitors in the tribe; they cared for the poor of their village, and at the same time entertained socially in a more lavish manner than other families.

556 622 [439] [778] In monetary wealth the chief always surpassed his fellow-citizens. The manner in which his worldly goods were acquired is not completely clear but there are several known sources. One of these was through commercial trading of desirable objects such as eagle down, and of articles traded with trans-Sierra Mono, or between local tribes. The commerce in eagle down was controlled by the chief as the bird was sacred to him and could not be killed without his permission. On this matter a Wukchumni (Y) informant gave the following:[21]

622 237 778 439 Only a chief could order an eagle killed. He paid the man who killed it three to five dollars for the bird. Some man or woman was then asked to prepare the bird; they were paid for their trouble. The large feathers were plucked off. The skin was removed with the down still on it. The leg bones were kept for making whistles. The meat was removed but only the fat saved for tallow salve. The feathers, down, leg bones, and tallow were kept by the chief, and these he sold to doctors or any other persons who wanted them for religious or ceremonial purposes. The carcass was given a special ritualistic burial, at which a mournful attitude prevailed.

622 237 556 [755] This trade in eagle products brought some profit to the chief. The demand for eagle down was constant as it was used by the majority of people for religious purposes such as scattering during prayer, and to make ropes of down which had power in curing sickness. Such ropes were used by non-professional persons who had supernatural power as well as by doctors.

622 439 556 Further profit came to the chief through intertribal commerce. Traders who came from other tribes with baskets, pottery, salt, tanned skins, etc., would first go to the chief's house to state their business, as was customary with all outsiders, and to receive the welcoming meal. Hence the chief had first chance to buy the wares they brought and retail them to his neighbors if he so wished. As a man of wealth

[21] Sam Garfield; see Appendix.

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he could take advantage of this opportunity to purchase desirable articles. The chief's house was often made headquarters for buying and selling when foreign traders appeared. Winatums were dispatched to notify other villages if the traders did not intend to go further.

Chiefs shared in the payment received by doctors of their tribe when dances were given for purposes of entertainment. Thus at the annual mourning ceremony the doctors' contest, which was an indispensable part of the ritual series, was performed by four to ten shamans. Some of the shamans were of the local or host tribe, but the majority were invited for the occasion. At such times invitations, together with a gift of money, were sent to chiefs who were asked to bring their doctors to the ceremony. The shamans themselves were paid by the audience. Each person present at the contest contributed a little shell money, the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents. This money was collected by the shamans' winatums, and the total was divided among the shamans, the singers who accompanied their performance, and the shamans' winatums.

Often a chief was asked to bring an especially talented doctor or dancer to give a performance for the specific purpose of making money. From the audience's point of view the spectacle was an entertainment which they gladly paid to see. The following account of the Huhuna dancer gives us an example of this method of making money:[36]

The Waksachi (WM) did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni (Y) and one from Tule River reservation that came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai (Y), too. Their names are not remembered. They came to fandangos at Tucao (the central village of the Michahai with a heavy admixture of Waksachi). They made money for Pao'ite, the chief, but they were paid for doing it.

Huhuna could hear money. Before the dance began the chief had money hidden. He put up the most but anybody that wanted to could put up a little money for this. It was hidden in the ground, under a shrub, or up in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. Huhuna was brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask that covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he heard the hidden money he pointed to it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum who dug it out for him and put it in a basket.[37] After the money was all found Huhuna continued his dancing in order to make money for Pao'ite. In the meantime Pao'ite had sent his own winatum for a doctor who was to kill Huhuna with magic. He paid the doctor three or four dollars to do this. The

[36] From Sam Osborn; see Appendix. The Huhuna dance was part of the mourning ritual series, but might be performed outside of its ceremonial context at any time.

[37] This winatum might be loaned by the local chief or might be brought along with the chief and Huhuna.

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622 winatum made a little fire in the dance space from which the doctor manufactured
756 his magical "air-shot" (toiyuc). He also told Huhuna where to sit down when
541 he was to be "shot." The doctor had a blanket which was laid down for his
574 money to be thrown on. When the shaman was ready he danced around a bit and then cast the invisible "shot" at Huhuna. Huhuna fell over unconscious. Pao'ite's winatum was standing by ready to pick up Huhuna and carry him over to his own (Huhuna's) chief. Then all the spectators present threw down some money for Huhuna who had died. This was collected by Pao'ite's winatum and placed at Huhuna's side. It was this money which Pao'ite received. Then the spectators again gave money or acorn meal, which was presented to the visiting chief.

The doctor who had shot Huhuna now came forward and went through the process of reviving his victim. This ended the performance and Huhuna and his chief went off to their camp.

The money given by the audience at Huhuna's death and received by Pao'ite totaled more than his expenses in giving the ceremony. Similarly Huhuna's chief received a greater monetary value in the money and acorn meal paid in than he paid to his dancer. The informant was uncertain whether Huhuna's chief paid him on these occasions or not.

Thus chiefs, though always having to pay more than any ordinary
622 citizen to entertainers or ceremonial performers, nevertheless often
556 made a large profit from such affairs. It is difficult to find a basis
574 for this reciprocal relationship unless it was that the dancer was more likely to obtain a larger audience when sponsored by his own chief. It was not possible to hold a dance or ceremony in any village without permission from the local chief. If a dancer such as Huhuna wanted to make some money by going about to various villages, it is probable that he would be more likely to get permission to give his dance if accompanied by his own chief than if he came alone. On the other hand, such performances, outside of their ceremonial context, may have as often been instigated by the chief in his desire to make money as by the dancer himself. A similarly profitable reciprocity between chiefs and shamans will be discussed in a later section.

651 No conventional system of taxation was employed by Yokuts or
541 Western Mono but an equivalent method was in vogue. In the description of Huhuna's dance given above we saw that each person in the audience contributed a bit of money or foodstuff to pay for the entertainment. This was usual at all public functions. At an evening festivity, perhaps a purely social affair, a chief would tell his winatum that he wanted a certain dance performed. He would give the winatum some money which the latter took to a dancer with the request for a performance. This initial payment was all that the

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chief contributed. When the doctor or dancers gave a performance in which they were accompanied by one or more singers, the winatums collected a little money from all the persons who assembled to witness it. This collection was given to the dancers and out of it they paid their accompanists and winatums. Doctors who wanted to make money might offer to give an exhibition on these occasions. For this they first obtained the chief's permission. In this case the chief paid them a sum just as if he had requested the dance.

In defraying the expenses of annual mourning ceremonies the entire tribe contributed as usual. The largest sums of money were furnished by the chiefs, the subchiefs, and the bereaved families. Though it was not compulsory for every family in the tribe to subscribe to the mourning ceremony it was an expected obligation. Non-contributors would not attend the affair. The results of not joining in the annual mourning ceremony will be taken up in a later section.

The system of payment at this ceremony is extremely involved. As it has no bearing upon the present discussion a description of the method will be omitted here. However, this much should be said, that from this affair the chiefs profited not at all, in fact were sometimes reduced in circumstances by it. They received financial aid from the subchiefs whose duty it was to make up any deficit in the funds which were needed for the occasion.

What becomes apparent from this system of paying for the expenses of festivities is this: that the chief requested certain performances, sanctioned others, that cost money; doctors and dancers did not dance and winatums did not run errands for nothing. But it was the spectators who paid the expenses. The chief was, and was regarded as, the ceremonial leader of his community of whom it was said "he gave this dance," "he made that mourning ceremony," etc., in spite of the fact that it was the public at large who paid for them. No public taxes were levied and placed in a general fund, but the more simple expedient of having the persons present at any ceremony contribute on the spot produced the same result.

EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS

There were usually two or three chiefs in a tribe, perhaps occasionally more. A village of any size boasted at least one or two. A Wukchumni (Y) informant states that his tribe had five chiefs when he was a boy. Three of them lived at Gutsnumi, the other two at

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622 Daiapnuca. He cannot remember their names, but knows that some
[614] of them were related to each other, i.e., they did not represent five
different lineages. When a decision relative to a local group was to
622 be made its chiefs had to act unanimously, and similarly all chiefs if
623 the entire tribe were involved. The same informant continued:[28]

> In a single village, if one chief suggested having a fandango, the others had to agree before he could go ahead with his plans. If one chief were thinking about something he wanted to do he would tell his winatum to get the other chief or chiefs. In the meantime he would go out to the fire which a winatum had built. A winatum notified the villagers that there was going to be a meeting. Everyone in camp who wished to go to the meeting could do so regardless of sex or age. The chief would start talking to the people as they gradually assembled. As he talked to the people, the other chiefs upon their arrival, talked among themselves, agreeing or disagreeing with what was being said publicly. The winatum of the chief who was making his speech would go to the others to see what they thought. If they all agreed to go ahead with the plan that had been suggested, all of them, including the instigator, held a low-voiced consultation about specific plans, for instance, the date of holding a fandango. Their decision was announced at once to the people, who were waiting to hear it. If a chief, while addressing an audience, said something wrong one of the others would speak up and correct him.

622 The executive governing of the chiefs was of a paternal-judiciary
769 type. That is to say, they were consulted for advice, and gave or denied permission for certain events to take place. Thus were preparations made for the annual mourning ceremony among the Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y):[29]

> Families who had lost relatives during the year and wanted to make the mourning ceremony would talk about it among themselves. They had been saving money, and getting or making baskets in preparation for it. When they decided that they were ready they sent for the chief's winatum and told him to tell the chief what they wanted to do. The winatum went back to the chief. If there were other chiefs in the village they were summoned for a conference (as described above). If the chiefs thought enough money and supplies were obtainable to carry through their plans they would set the date for the affair at twelve days in the future. Then they sent their winatums to those neighboring tribes that they wanted to invite.

There were minor variations in the procedure not given in the above account. A Wobonuch (WM) informant described it as follows:[30]

> The month in which a mourning ceremony was to be held was tentatively set a year ahead. During that time everyone saved up for the celebration, especially the bereaved families. When the month drew near the most influential chief sent

[28] Joe Pohot; see Appendix.
[29] From Sam Garfield; see Appendix.
[30] From 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.

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for the other or secondary chiefs, and for the head members of the families who were to give the ceremony in order to decide whether the time was still acceptable to all. If the chiefs delayed in calling this meeting and the families concerned wanted the matter discussed they could approach the chief and ask for a conference. The choice of a date depended mainly upon the financial condition of the bereaved families, and the amount of food available. The affair was usually held in the late summer after the village members had returned from their summer camps. Game and vegetable supplies were most abundant at that time. This was important as the host tribe was responsible for the subsistence of all visitors for a six-day period, as well as for giving and throwing away quantities of food. 622 769

Those who talked over the coming ceremony were first the chief or chiefs of the village and their brothers who had to share the expenses. The chiefs' winatums were always present. This small committee knew the whereabouts of absent members of their own village who were expected to be present, and how long it would take to notify them of the coming affair. At this meeting the date was set for about three weeks away. If men were off working and sent back a reply that they could not be ready by that date then the date would be shifted a few days to meet everyone's convenience as nearly as possible. Also other tribes asked, especially the one having the reciprocal part in the ceremony, might alter the date if they felt that they could not be ready at the time suggested.

After the first meeting held by the chiefs and bereaved families the local chief's winatum would call the other winatums, both men and women. The men he would send to chiefs of other villages and tribes that were to be invited, and to local people who were away and should be notified. The women winatums were told to look to the food supply and arrange for the cooking during the week of the ceremony. The most influential chief's winatum was the head one; it was he who usually bore the invitation to the reciprocating tribe. There was a winatum who acted as dance manager, and supervised the camp assembly and food provisions. The doctors' winatums set about getting other doctors for the dances. 624 769

The round of ceremonials during the year was always the same: the jimsonweed ceremony, the snake dance, and the first salmon ceremonial took place in the spring, and the mourning ceremony, first seed and acorn rites, and the bear dance occurred in the fall. Everyone knew approximately when these dances should be held but the specific time was always decided by the chief. The procedure was about as above. If snake doctors or bear dancers wished to hold their ceremonies they sent a notice to the chief. On the other hand, a chief who thought that the time for the ceremony was approaching and who had heard no report of the dancers' intentions, would send a winatum asking them to prepare for the ceremony. Thus among the Wukchumni (Y):[21] 796 622

My people all have bear poca on my father's side. The chief told them when to make the bear dance. This would be along toward Christmas time. The chief sent his winatum to my father's brother asking him when he would be ready. He said he'd be ready in twelve days. Then my uncle picked out some of us to dance with him.

[21] Informant Mollie Lawrence; see Appendix.

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796 The bear dance among the Wobonuch (WM) was determined as follows:[31]

826 614 [787] The bear men remembered are Unnrigan (bear dancer), Supana (the interpreter's maternal grandfather), and Tcineda, his half-brother. The oldest bear man thought about the time to hold the dance. Then he sent for the bear dancers from other camps. Only those persons of the bear lineage danced who had "taken" bear for a supernatural helper through a dream. Many other people were in bear lineages but did nothing in respect to their totem except to refrain from eating or killing it. The dance was held in September or October, for if it were not held before bears holed in for the winter, all people of the bear lineage would sicken and die. Furthermore, no one with a bear totem might eat of the new acorn crop until after the dance had been made. If the dance were properly performed, Bear, the totemic, supernatural patron of the lineage, would continue to function for his human protégés even during the period of hibernation.

All people with a bear totem contributed money for the dance, but only the dreamers danced. Food was supplied by the bear lineages for all visitors (who stayed not more than three days). Hunters and fishermen always brought game to sell at such festivals.

791 796 The Entimbich (Y) gave the snake dance yearly. It was attended by neighboring Yokuts and Western Mono tribes. The procedure in giving the dance was as follows:[32]

[755] A big snake doctor would think it was time to make the snake dance, which always took place in the spring. He would send a winatum after the other snake doctors in his tribe. They talked over the affair and set a date for it. Then they notified the chief. If he agreed to the plans, messages were sent to all villages and camps of near-by tribes. At Kiteeyu, where the Entimbich were centralized, Chukaimina (Y), Choinimni (Y), Michahai (Y), Wobonuch (WM), and sometimes Waksachi (WM) came. Everyone had to attend this ceremony during which the doctors predicted who would be bitten by rattlesnakes during the coming season. A preventive "cure" was given these people then and there. In fact, participation in the ceremony at all was regarded as preventive. . . . . The doctors making the dance had to see that food was supplied for all visitors. Both chiefs' and doctors' winatums looked after the various details. (The doctors were of course generously paid for giving the ceremony, though they apparently did [782] not profit by it. It was their civic duty to give the affair. The money paid by the spectators was theoretically in propitiation of the rattlesnakes themselves over which the doctors had control through dreams.)

622 344 A sweat-house could not be built without the chief's permission. If the men of a village thought a new sweat-house was needed they would consult the chief, who would decide when it was to be made. Usually every man in the village helped in its construction, which was directed by winatums. Among the Wobonuch (WM) the chief announced that a feast would be held six days after the work was

[31] Informant 'Meriam Joe, George Dick, interpreter; see Appendix.
[32] Informant 'Meriam Joe, George Dick, interpreter.

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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made. 622 344

In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[24] 622 361 576

Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men.[25] An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM): 622 578 627 [23]

[24] See anecdote, p. 394. [25] Informant George Dick.

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622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[26] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[27]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[28]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[29]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

[622 735]

[26] See anecdote, p. 392.
[27] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[28] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[29] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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Chiefs always decided matters of intertribal relation but on the powers of chiefs in intertribal wars we have little concrete data. On the whole the Yokuts and Western Mono tribes were peaceful rather than warlike. A few organized raids on villages are reported from the plains region but in the foothills only sporadic, unsystematized outbreaks took place. In such hostilities as occurred there were no war captains other than a man who took leadership upon himself or by general consent, because of his natural abilities as a leader and marksman. Good hunters took up arms when necessary simply as persons who were skilled in handling weapons. A typical account of intertribal hostilities and the chief's minor rôle in them is the following:[40]

The Wobonuch (WM) and Entimbich (Y) have always been friendly. Long ago unfriendly relations existed between these two tribes and those on the north fork of the Kaweah river, chiefly the Waksachi (WM) and Wukchumni (Y), whom the Wobonuch refer to collectively as the Pasuaj. One time some Entimbich women were out gathering seeds on Mill Flat creek. Some Pasuaj came over there and killed all but one woman just for meanness. The woman who escaped ran to a Wobonuch village, Kadawinao, and told what had happened.

The Wobonuch men gathered together. A few of them started southwest toward Aukland (Pasuaj territory). There they met a young man and woman. Now there had been two intermarriages between the Wobonuch and Pasuaj and these young people were the respective offspring. In the avenging Wobonuch party were relatives of the pair. As they met they cried "Cousin!" to each other at once. Then a long parley began. Some of the Wobonuch said that the couple were Pasuaj and had to be killed, but the relatives protested. The irate Wobonuch said they should be killed no matter who they were. They finally won out by threatening to kill the Wobonuch relatives of their own party. Then they killed the young couple and returned home.

Soon a Pasuaj named Wasomai, and his brother and sister, came and set up a camp near Taobin. The Wobonuch camp, Nimaiawe, was about two miles off. A trail from it passed near the Pasuaj camp. An old Wobonuch man was traveling along this trail. The Pasuaj brothers shot at and wounded him. He succeeded in reaching Nimaiawe. He told what had happened to him. The best men were all off hunting deer. The chief (Pinoa?) sent out winatums to bring them in.

The Pasuaj brothers knew by this time that they had a war on their hands, so Wasomai got out by an obscure route and went for help. He returned with a lot of his people. The Wobonuch had come over from their village and the two parties began to shoot at each other from behind trees and rocks. The fight went on for several days. The Wobonuch lost four or five men. At last the Wobonuch chiefs decided to call a truce. They called a meeting of the chiefs on both sides by sending winatums (who were protected at all times) into the Pasuaj camp accompanied by the Pasuaj who had previously married into the Wobonuch

[40] Informant 'Merican Joe, George Dick, interpreter. This war occurred in the childhood of Supana, a grandfather of George Dick, who was a very old man when Dick was a boy. 'Merican Joe said it occurred "long before the round dance [Ghost dance of 1870]." It probably took place at least seventy-five years ago.

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622 648 728 tribe. The chiefs talked the matter over and a truce was settled. Immediately a dance was held which tribes from both sides, i.e., Wobonuch, Entimbich, Waksachi, and Wukchumni, attended. This was the first social intercourse between the tribes of Dunlap valley and those of the Kaweah river drainage. They have kept up friendly relations ever since.

621 625 574 The Wobonuch had no war leader or captain: at Taobin there were two guards who stayed on the trail where it came in between two big rocks. There was a narrow approach of this sort on each side of the village. When strangers appeared these guards would go out to meet them and ask their business. If strangers came along quickly, minding their own business and behaving as if they had some purpose, they would not be harmed, but if a man were seen lurking about in the bush he would be shot at once.

622 648 [776] The Chunut informant says that occasional intertribal wars occurred but that there was "no special man to lead the fight."[41] She added that chiefs never fought. Any man who was good at fighting would lead the hostilities. Such a man was likely to have raven as his dream helper.

In warfare, then, the chiefs had no active part, but functioned in their traditional rôle of advisors or judiciaries whose decisions were accepted by common consent.

CEREMONIAL DUTIES

622 The chiefs had certain ceremonial duties which informants seemed unable to define clearly. At apparently all public functions the chief made a short speech. Informants sometimes call this a "prayer." He always told the assembled people what the ceremony was to be and why they were making it, but specific remarks for individual occasions the informants could not or would not give.

622 769 The most important speech made by the chief was that at the annual mourning ceremony. This was spoken on the last (sixth) night of the celebration during the "cry" ritual. Among the Wobonuch the chief addressed the mourners at the ceremony just before the destruction of the images of the deceased; "he told them what they were doing and why, and he told them to quit worrying now. 'This is the end of your feeling bad.' "[42]

The Choinimni informant said that the chief made a speech at the cry ceremony but "couldn't remember" what it was about. Another informant, Michahai-Waksachi, said he would repeat what the chief said in this speech "but my language is too short." As a matter of

[41] Josie Alonso.

[42] Mariean Jos, informant, George Dick, interpreter.

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fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.[43]

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On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.[44] These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

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In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

[43] Bess Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*
[44] *Op. cit.*, 286, 287.

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MINOR OFFICIALS

624 The winatum has been frequently mentioned in the previous pages and his duties incidentally described. The activities of this official were all important in the execution of the chief's instructions and the organization of tribal functions. He was an essential unit in the social machinery. There seems to have been no variation in his duties or position among any of the Yokuts or Western Mono tribes. While the duties falling to a winatum might, from our point of view, put [554] him in the class of a servant, such was not the case. The office carried with it a certain prestige; informants of a winatum's lineage, as Sam Osborn or Mary Pohot, speak proudly of their parents' status just as do those of chiefly lineage. Though winatums were always paid for their services "they did not work to make money," and are never spoken of as rich men, as are chiefs and shamans. Whenever a winatum arrived at a house on an errand he had to be paid a small sum, usually the equivalent of ten to twenty-five cents, unless he had come from a distance. A chief paid his own winatum for every service rendered, as well as those who came to him bearing news from another tribe or village. The paying of winatums was not standardized: the chief or any other person making use of a winatum gave him what both considered a fair amount according to the employer's financial status.

624 The position of subchief and his functions are of an indefinite sort. 171 Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono of Kings river had this official; Yokuts of the plains and upper San Joaquin river apparently did not. Among the Yokuts the subchief was called tuye'i. The Western Mono had no special name for this office which was filled by the real chief's brothers. The Wukchumni (Y) and Yaudanchi (Y) tuye'i was described as follows:[45]

> The tuye'i was a kind of second chief. The position went in families, and both sexes were called tuye'i just as all in the chief's family were called tia'a. There were usually four to six tuye'i in a tribe. When a mourning ceremony was to be held, and the chief was arranging financial affairs so as to cover the expenses, the subchiefs put up enough money to cover any deficit that might occur. Subchiefs who were about fifteen years of age or over contributed. If the chief were away or unable to attend to his part in a ceremony, the tuye'i took his place: they were the first to start eating at meals, made his speech, and also any decisions

[45] Informant, Sam Garfield.

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that were called for. On the evening of the fifth day of the annual mourning ceremony the subchiefs gave a supper to the chief. Money, baskets, and blankets which had previously been given them by the chief were returned to him at this time.

A Yaudanchi informant said:

"The tuye'i helped the tia'a at the mourning ceremony. If the tia'a put up five dollars the tuye'i put up three. If the tia'a had no money these men had to put up the rest."[46]

The Wobonuch (WM) regarded the brothers of an active chief as sub- or secondary chiefs. They had no special term for these men, whose functions were as among the Yokuts.

Both Chunut and Tachi informants denied the existence of this official in their tribe or vicinity.[47]

Some tribes had an official who took charge of the camp and ritual organization at large fandangos. He is called in English the "dance manager"; he was a kind of master of ceremonies. The Yokuts called this man the yate'itc. The Kechayi (Y) had the official and describe him as follows:[48]

The yate'itc was a kind of winatum. He talked for the tiya and he worked at arranging meals. He made all announcements for the chief and often acted as a go-between, between the chief and his people. The chief often talked to people in person or in public but he seldom made announcements to a large gathering unless his yate'itc were away. The position was inherited from the father's side but could be of either moiety. The Kechayi yate'itc, Koteon, was of the Nutuwic moiety, whereas the Posgisa yate'itc, E'ukiyi, was Tokeluwic. At fandangos or parties the yate'itc "prayed" before each meal. He said, "Come close to this food. We are going to have a good feast. When supper is over we will play and have a good time."

On the Wukchumni (Y) dance manager we have the following:[49]

This man was not called winatum. He was hired for a big fandango by the chief. The position was hereditary; it always had raven for totem. The man's duty was to keep order in camp and affairs running smoothly: he called to the people to get up in the morning, went out to meet new arrivals and told them where to camp, informed the chief of their arrival; he told people to be quiet, stopped children who were playing too noisily, or women who were quarreling or "getting mad over their cooking."

The dance manager among the Wobonuch (Y) had no special name but was called natinab (winatum), just as were the official servants of chiefs and shamans.

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[46] Tom Wilcox; see Appendix.
[47] Josie Alonzo and Mollie Garcia, respectively.
[48] Ellen Murphy; see Appendix.
[49] Joe Pohot.

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624 171 The occurrence of this official seems to be sporadic, and cannot be regarded as characteristic of the Yokuts and Western Mono. It seems to be a specialization of the winatum's office which is localized in the foothills and plains. Officials similar to winatums and dance managers occur in southern California among the Serrano, Desert Pass, and Mountain Cahuilla, and Cupeño.[50]

[276] There was no special official for the jimsonweed ritual. A "man of good heart" who knew how to prepare the poisonous plant usually conducted the affair.

THE SHAMAN

SOURCE AND USES OF POWER

756 The shaman, in the eyes of the Yokuts and Western Mono, was an institution as old as that of chief. In their mythology Owl appears as the prehistoric shaman whose duty it was, upon the creation of man, to sponsor and aid those human beings who took up the profession of doctoring. But neither in mythology nor in present reality does the shaman appear as a person having legal jurisdiction over his fellow-beings. His powers were exclusively occult. His supposed ability to manipulate supernatural elements for both good and evil purposes left him in an equivocal position. A doctor was both feared and respected; but whether he was more respected than feared or vice versa depended entirely upon his personal character.

756 787 The shaman's source of supernatural power was a dream helper, usually an animal. The creature appeared in a dream, often that of normal sleep during the night. It spoke to its protégé, saying "Use me," or an equivalent phrase, and gave him a song. If the person thus approached wished to accept the offered power he took care not to forget the song, and would seek another encounter with his patron in a dream experience. If the creature appeared again it was to give the man further instructions: he was told what to use as a talisman in effecting cures, and perhaps given other songs. The dream helper, though often sought, might come voluntarily to any one. No one was obliged to "take" a dream. Many people felt that the rules of fasting, praying in an isolated spot, taking a tobacco emetic, basking in the sun, and so on, which were necessary to a successful

[50] William Duncan Strong, Aboriginal Society in Southern California, this series, 26:18, 62, 63, 107, 108, 165–167, 251, 252, 1929.

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relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it.

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."[81]

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief."

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

[81] From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor.

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756 The usual method of securing a doctor was to send a fee with the request for him to come. Shamans of reputation were often sent for even when they lived two days' journey away. Doctors traveled about a great deal and might be here or there. If the doctor accepted the fee he came as quickly as possible and began his ritual of diagnosis and cure. The performance lasted about two days, longer if the patient were slow in recovering. The doctor received an additional fee after he began his curing. A doctor of repute received from thirty to fifty dollars for visiting a patient, occasionally more if he were extremely powerful. Ordinarily a shaman did not return any of the money received even if the cure were unsuccessful and death resulted. The Kechayi (Y) informant stated that a good doctor would return the fee in case of failure. If the doctor had come from a distance he kept enough to pay for his trouble. But this was unusual. People stood in such fear of a shaman, especially one of doubtful reputation, that they preferred to let him retain the fee rather than engender his ill will by asking for its return. This custom of retaining the fee [556] increased the shaman's wealth and augmented the belief that doctors made people ill just to get their money. The usual excuse for failing to cure a patient was that the shaman who had caused the sickness had more power than the one who was attempting the cure. The name of the criminal doctor could not be disclosed even if the curing doctor suspected or knew who he was, for fear of his own life, i.e., the more powerful shaman would kill him. Only an eminent doctor who knew his occult powers to be supreme would dare to continue a cure against the animosity of another shaman.[22]

753 The most common cause of illness was believed to be the intrusion into the body of some foreign object which had been projected by the 755 evil magic of a doctor. The extraction of this object by cutting and sucking theoretically constituted a cure. The intruding object was always exhibited upon its extraction by the curing shaman; it might be a few hairs, finger-nail clippings, insects, a blood clot, the moustache of a mountain lion, and so on.

754 The art of poisoning was known throughout south central California and was clearly distinguished from supernatural causes of sickness. When known to have caused deaths, poisoners were killed just as were shamans. The case of a bad chief who used poisons from sheer maliciousness as well as to make money will be described in a later section.

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[22] See anecdote, p. 394.

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People were often warned of coming sickness by a frightening experience devised by the doctor involved. In such a case the fright was considered the cause of death as much as the sickness itself. Thus a doctor would send a coyote to scare a man. The man seeing the coyote under peculiar circumstances would know at once that a doctor was after him and would bring on a self-induced illness. Doctors often frightened people by sending owls to hoot outside their houses at night.[83] A doctor might send a dove to a group of people sitting outdoors. It would fall down and die near some one, and that person was doomed. It was certain that a doctor had sent it, as no ordinary bird would do such a thing of its own accord. Doctors' supernatural messengers, foretelling death, also visited persons in dreams.

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Two doctors might decide to kill another shaman. They took their basket trays and went off to some knoll which was their customary meeting place. Plain people did not dare go there. They would make a fire and talk the matter over. When they had decided what kind of death, that is slow or sudden, to inflict upon their victim, one of the doctors would get out his eagle bone whistle. He would run around the fire, whistling as he went. The other shaman would hold his tray up to the sun to get power on it. He talked to the sun. The magic "shot" that appeared he put on the tray; the shot is said to look like seeds or salmon eggs. Then the doctors exchanged activities, and the second doctor would get all the power that was left. Then they crashed the trays upon the ground and the shot flew off into their victim, no matter how far away. They would get a coyote to visit the house of the doomed man. During the night one of the doctors would go to the victim's house and walk around it. As he did so he would stamp on the ground, wave a talisman in the air, and say "Now I've got you!" (or an analogous phrase). The doctor within the house slept soundly: his own power was "covered up," and his dream helpers could not come to his aid. In two or three days he would fall ill. The malicious shaman would repeat his circuit of the house on several nights. The sick man would call some other doctor to cure him but it would be of no avail. The shaman called in might be able to diagnose the cause of the illness but he would be afraid to tell who the criminals were lest he be killed by them. The two conspiring shamans would continue to go out every night and talk to their dream helpers, saying, "I want that man to die!" Usually a slow death was visited upon the unfortunate shaman. During his illness the sick man would call on all his helpers; he would try all his talismans but they would be useless. He would die anyway unless he were a man with extraordinary supernatural power.[84]

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[83] Coyotes and owls were supernatural servants of shamans.

[84] The bulk of the information in this paragraph was given by Sam Osborn.

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MALICIOUS ACTIVITIES

754 The sinister activities of evil shamans are ever present in the native mind. The following series of anecdotes related by informants from various sections of San Joaquin valley are evidence of the baleful rôle which doctors played in aboriginal life.

A Wobonuch (WM) informant, 'Merican Joe, with George Dick interpreting, gave the following:

Cahaola (Charlie Pete) had a large family. They were living at Sief's below Mill creek. One of his girls got sick and died. Soon another had a similar attack. Cahaola got a doctor named Puca to cure her. He was a man of small stature, and "very, very mean." This was the doctor who was poisoning Cahaola's children. Puca sat down in front of the girl and cut her in several places. He finally sucked out a water weaver. It had been used as "air-shot."

Soon others in Cahaola's family died: the water insect went from one to another killing each. At last there was only one girl, Pahamo, left, and she too fell ill. Cahaola now was desperate. He came over to Kitceyu (Dunlap) and consulted Laoteu'i (Little Dick), the Entimbich chief, telling him that he wanted to kill Puca. Laoteu'i sent him to see Hamatc (Luckett). Both chiefs agreed that Cahaola was justified as it was well known that Pahamo had refused to sleep with Puca. Hence Puca was taking the usual doctor's revenge by making her sick. Puca was living over at Kitceyu at the time with a daughter of Haipuc (Samson Jack). He had two other women, one up at Hart's basin, the other in Drum valley. He always took barely nubile girls.

There had been a fandango at Kitceyu. Someone told Cahaola that Puca was going over to Ko'onikwe (No. 3 Mill Camp) the next day, so Cahaola went ahead on the trail to waylay him. When Puca was ready to start he sent some of his friends on before him saying that he was going down to Barton's saloon to get some whiskey and would catch up with them. Then he followed by himself.

Cahaola was waiting on the trail. He saw Haipuc and some other men coming along, so remained hidden. Then he saw Puca in the distance; Puca was riding a white horse and was plainly visible. Puca drew nearer; he was very drunk and was singing loudly. The song he sang as he rode was "You can take my heart [soul, spirit] away today." He had already been informed through a dream that Cahaola was going to kill him. As he came opposite, Cahaola jumped out and shot him through the body with a .44. Puca fell off his horse and landed upright on a rock; he sat up rigidly straight. Cahaola accused him of killing his family. Puca admitted the crime and said he was glad he was going to be killed. Then Cahaola shot him between the eyes.

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When Cahaola reached home his last daughter was dying.

The activities of bad doctors among the Waksachi (WM) are best illustrated by anecdotes involving three generations of shamans.[33] Of the following, numbers 1 and 3 were told by Sam Osborn, number 2 by Josie Alonzo:

1. A group of Waksachi were living at Teitatu. There was a nice young girl there. A doctor named Wasic sent his winatum around to call a few of his shaman friends together. The winatum asked Wasic what he was going to do.

[33] See genealogy, Western Mono: Waksachi 2, Appendix.

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He replied, "I am going to kill that pretty young girl. I want these doctors to help me with some extra talismans as there is a beautiful woman at Kitceyu whom I am going to kill, too. I am going to make them sick. After they are dead I am going to skin them and stuff them like dolls. I have lots of money and baskets up at Tawatsanahahi in a big rock like a house; there is a lot of poison there, too. I am going to set those dolls up in there."

The winatum was aghast but was too afraid of Wasic to object. He told the other doctors that they were to meet that night at Tawatsanahahi (eating dead person; also called Tawatsa'asot'ho'i, dead person skinned), a hill above Kitceyu which was a customary meeting place for doctors. No ordinary person dared go up there.

When the doctors assembled they made a fire and proceeded to make "air-shot" in the usual way. The girl at Tcitatu got sick suddenly and died the next day. They made "shot" for the woman at Kitceyu. She died, too. Then the doctors went home. They were warned not to tell anything on threat of being killed by Wasic.

The girls were buried and stayed in the ground two nights. On the third night about eight o'clock Wasic went to the Tcitatu girl's grave. He walked around it twice, each time stamping at the head. The girl rose right up out of the ground and stood up. Then Wasic waved his talisman, a rope of eagle down, and the girl flew into the air and came to earth some hundred yards away.[86] Then he flew himself by the same means. They moved thus again and again until they reached Tawatsanahahi. Then he did the same thing to the young woman at Kitceyu. He had to call on his friends for more talismans for this as the power of his own was worn out. When both girls were placed on the rocks the doctors assembled and skinned them. They stuffed the skins with grass and dressed the dummies in beads and quail feather earrings.

"Doctors always worked at night on such business; in the daytime they were where they belonged."

2. A man named Tukatsi lived at Kitceyu. His wife was a Waksachi named Nellie. She became lame. The condition slowly grew worse until she was entirely crippled. Etak, a powerful doctor and the son of Wasic, was accused of causing the sickness. Etak was also accused of the death of two or three women and a man. When Tukatsi's wife died after being treated by Etak he went over to the doctor's house. Etak was just outside the door. Tukatsi shot him with an arrow. Etak began leaping all around and yelping, "Ai ii, ai ii i," just like a coyote. Tukatsi took up an axe and went after him but Etak escaped.

Tukatsi met another doctor on his way home. He shot him in the eyes. This doctor had not injured anyone so far as was known but Tukatsi was beside himself and was ready to shoot any doctor on sight.

3. Haloptea was a son of Etak. He was a "mean" doctor. His sister Tceyi married a man named Koikoi'ite. They had four children, two boys and two girls. They moved over to Owens valley to live, for some reason. Haloptea made an eagle down belt and took it over to his niece. Two days later the girl died from poisoning with which the belt had been treated. Her brother died one year later. Soon after that the other two children died, and finally Tceyi herself. Koikoi was beside himself. He came over to Kitceyu to kill Haloptea. The bad doctor knew from a dream that he was being sought so he kept out of the way.

Koikoi went to Haloptea's house. Etak was there; he was an old, old man now, and blind. Koikoi shot him. Haloptea heard of this and rushed down to Visalia to get the sheriff. Koikoi was still around looking for Haloptea when

[86] This was a common feat of powerful shamans in the region.

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754 the latter returned with the sheriff who made Koikoi a prisoner. Haloptea went home and buried his father. Koikoi was taken to Fresno and then to San Quentin. He died there.

Doctors were generally feared by the Wukchumni (Y) as elsewhere. Mary Pohot told the following incident as a specific instance of a prevailing condition:

When Mary was a young girl she lived with her aunt. The old lady had a new blanket for which she had paid twenty dollars. A doctor knew about this and came to the house demanding that it be given him. He threatened to make everybody in the house sick. The old lady was frightened. The doctor gave her $1.50 for the blanket and went off with it.

That evening Mary's uncle returned. His wife told him what had happened. The old man was furious; in spite of his wife's protests he went to the doctor and demanded full payment. The doctor just laughed at him. He said, "All right, I'll pay," and gave the old man two worthless baskets. This kind of thing happened all the time.

Another Wukchumni informant, Jim Britches, told of his own experience at the hands of a bad Patwisha (WM) shaman:

A Patwisha named Tcitcĕn was Jim Britches' stepfather. Tcitcĕn was a "big" doctor. When Jim was quite young, perhaps ten years old, his mother, Tcitcĕn, and himself were living at Naranjo (Wukchumni territory). Tcitcĕn disliked Jim; he wanted to kill him. He sent $10 up to Little Dick at Kiteeyu asking him to help kill Jim. Little Dick refused. Then Tcitcĕn went ahead with his own power and made Jim sick. The boy became delirious.

Just at this time there was to be a big fandango at Ironbridge, near Naranjo. A powerful Choinimni doctor, Puclilin, and his winatum, Pony Dick Watun, came down for the celebration. Jim's mother sent for Puclilin to come treat her son. When he arrived Puclilin asked Tcitcĕn why he, who was a big doctor, did not cure Jim. Tcitcĕn demurred, saying that he had tried but had not enough power.

Jim's mother was weeping now; she had given up all hope of her son's recovery. He was very sick; he had pains in his chest, at the back of his neck, and between the eyes. Puclilin cut in these places and sucked at the wound. He sucked out hard lumps of blood. Jim began to get better at once. Puclilin knew all the time that it was Tcitcĕn who had been making Jim sick. It was only because he was a very powerful doctor that he dared to cure Jim.

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The activities of a Wukchumni doctor among the Gawia, and his resulting death in Waksachi territory, were described by Sam Osborn:

A Wukchumni doctor, Camaka, killed several Gawia. He wiped out a man's entire family until there was no one left but a little boy, the man's father's sister's son. The man could stand it no longer, so he went to some white people and traded his little cousin for a gun. This was the first Indian in this region to possess a gun. Someone told him that Camaka had gone up to Teitatu for a fandango. The Gawia followed him and camped in Eshom valley about a mile above Teitatu.

Bob Osborn, who was the chief's son, Sam Osborn, and two other men saw the camp and went out to ask the Gawia what he was doing there. The man told them what had happened to his family, that he had come up to kill Camaka, and hence

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did not want to go directly to the village. The Wakaschi did not feel it was their business to hinder this man, but they asked him to wait until Camaka had left Tcitatu as they did not want any trouble started at the fandango that might involve other people. They also told the Gawia that the shaman had a horse and could get away easily so to be on the lookout for him. The man agreed to leave Camaka alone until after he had left Tcitatu. He went over to Badger where Sam Osborn's uncle put him up.

The following morning Camaka and his family went over to Badger, too. He made his wife and daughter look after the horses as he was afraid to be seen alone far from camp. In the meantime a Choinimni and his family had gone to Badger. They were camping there. The Gawia told the Choinimni of his affairs, and winning the latter's sympathy, the two agreed upon a plan by which Camaka might be killed. The Choinimni was paid for his part. That night the Choinimni made a big fire and asked Camaka to come over for a visit. He told the shaman to sit down on one side of the fire while he and his family and Sam's uncle sat at right angles from him. He said that thus Camaka might address them all as he was relating the latest news from down Wukchumni way. When all was arranged the Gawia leaped out from a pile of rocks behind Camaka and shot him in the shoulder. Then he rushed in and cut his throat. [683]

The Gawia still was so enraged that he wanted to go over to Camaka's camp and kill all his family. Sam's uncle and the Choinimni restrained him from doing this, pointing out that the doctor's relations were innocent and to kill them would be unjustifiable murder.

Bob Osborn tells of another Wukchumni doctor who caused trouble among the Yokod:

A mourning ceremony was being held by the Yokod at Yokol. Bob Osborn and his brother George were asked to come and bring some deer as they were hunters of renown. They stopped at Rancheria Flat over night. They got six deer on the way. They reached Yokol on Thursday. The crying ceremony ended on Saturday night and the rejoicing celebration started early Sunday morning.

Present at the fandango was a Wukchumni doctor who was accused of sickening or killing several Yokod. Several men had decided that the time had come to kill him. On Sunday morning at the moment when the mourners were all standing in a row waiting to be washed the Wukchumni doctor was strolling off at a little distance. The conspiring men were ready. One of them ran down and grabbed the doctor. Another shot at the doctor but hit the man who was holding him. The doctor reached for his bow and shot several times at his assailants. Then he rushed into the nearest tule house. The men cornered him and shot him to death. Neither brothers nor other relatives took up a feud as the doctor's death was regarded by all as justifiable. [683]

A Choinimni doctor who made people sick and cured them just to get money was able to cause sickness as much as a hundred miles away, according to Josie Alonzo:

After Koowa's death a Choinimni doctor, Teokonik, came down to the Nutunutu (Y) at Kingston to cure the sick people there. At this time, Josie, her mother, and her sister-in-law with her two little boys, were working near Visalia. A winatum had come around telling them that Teokonik was going to make a visit to Kingston. The family decided that they wanted to go over to see the performance. On the morning when they were ready to start they all heard a little

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754 clicking sound like someone filliping his finger nail against his forehead. At the same instant the mother fell down; blood ran from her nose; she remained unconscious for several minutes. Her relatives picked her up and put her in the wagon.
[755] They all drove over to Kingston. Teokonik treated Josie's mother by cutting the skin between her eyebrows. He sucked out a finger-nail clipping. It was Teokonik who had "shot" it into her from a long way off while he was at Piedra, on Kings river. They paid him $20 for his services.

Teokonik was considered a very fine doctor because he could cure without
[756] cutting. Once a man died after Teokonik had treated him and he was accused of killing his patient. But Josie believes someone else must have killed him. Teokonik was put in jail at Hanford for this, and on another occasion at Visalia. Bob Tista intervened for him both times. On the first occasion the man who had poisoned Teokonik's patient ran away and was later caught, so the doctor was exonerated.

Another Choinimni doctor caused Josie herself to fall ill:

[231] About twenty years ago Josie was up in the Kaweah river foothills shearing sheep. There too was a Choinimni doctor named Tcukpa. He and Josie talked to each other occasionally; later he asked her to sleep with him. She refused, upon which he became very angry and threatened to make her sick. She told him if he did anything to her she would kill him. That night they were playing the hand game with several others. Tcukpa got mad because Josie was winning. He had his magic talisman wrapped in a handkerchief in his pocket. He pulled out the bundle and struck Josie across the eyes with it. She immediately had a
[755] headache and nose bleed. Haitcatca, a man with some supernatural power, was there. He cut, sucked, and cured Josie. He sucked out only blood. He told her she would be blind some day, but she still sees very well. (The scars from this, and no doubt other cuttings, are plainly visible on her forehead.)

Tcukpa was finally poisoned. If he had been a really powerful doctor he could have cured himself. Nowadays people will pay anybody who is hard up, and willing to do it, to poison undesirable persons like Tcukpa: "They just do it to see if he is mets aĥtu (strong doctor)."

A Nutunutu (Y) shaman who terrorized the Indians about Tulare lake killed Josie's cousin:

This story concerns Pokoi'ik, Motsa's friend.[87] Josie had a daughter, Mukuyik, nine or ten years old. One day she developed a severe pain in her right side; she had convulsions and died the next day. Later Josie learned from an old man that she had been killed by Pokoi'ik. This shaman was young and wanted to prove his power. Josie's husband had been working up at Kingston where Pokoi'ik lived. The shaman asked him for some money. He refused, saying that he had no money, that Josie had it all. This was true for the couple had been working hard and saved all they could. But Pokoi'ik got mad. He told this old man, "They'll dig up their money when their girl gets sick." He didn't go to Josie to ask for the money but just made Mukuyik sick. He killed her just to prove that he was able to. Said Josie, "Doctors often did this; they just like to try it like we'd try anything."

Pokoi'ik became more malicious as his power increased, and people feared him more. Once Josie's brother, Wepis, and her cousin went up to a fandango

[87] See anecdote, p. 406.

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given by the Wukchumni. Pokoi'ik walked up to Wepis and said, "Do you want to die or do you want to live?" He had been making a practice of doing this, and people had to pay him for fear of losing their lives. He had been preying on these two boys for a long time. When the boys went up to this fandango they had planned to kill Pokoi'ik, who, they knew, would be there. But Pokoi'ik knew about this beforehand as doctors usually did. When the boys were on the way home a weird, invisible object made of hair frightened the horse which the two boys were riding. Pokoi'ik had sent it. The horse reared, fell backwards, and crushed Josie's cousin. He died before the night was over.

Polkoi'ik finally died. Somebody poisoned him.

A typical case of a doctor's death due to intervention in another shaman's plans is that of Poso'o (Bob Tista or Bautista). Poso'o was a good doctor with much power, respected by white people as well as the Indians. He was a Tachi, and spent most of his life at the Lemoore ranchería. Josie Alonzo, who recounted the following story, lived with him for the last several years of his life:

At the Tule reservation was an old Humtinin ("southerner") named Tcehĕmsuk, a Koyeti (Y). He had some supernatural power but was a poisoner as well. He has always been at odds with Sam Garfield, a Wukchumni, who with his family lived at Tule River reservation. Tcehĕmsuk asked one of Sam's boys, Pete, a lad of about twenty-one, to come over to his house to drink some coffee. Pete did not want to go, but at the same time was afraid to refuse. Tcehĕmsuk gave him some cold coffee to drink. The following day Pete developed a bad cold, and complained that he "felt like he was burning up inside." They called a white doctor, but Pete's condition continued to get worse so they sent up to Lemoore for Poso'o. When the latter arrived Pete's neck was swollen up on the outside. Poso'o sang and danced for two nights. He cut and sucked the patient's neck but could extract nothing but blood. While he was doing his diagnostic singing none of his dream helpers spoke to him though he followed his formula perfectly.

One of his songs was:

watĭnihe	tsatsana	añṭawuhun
whose	chicken hawk down	belonging to a doctor

Now Poso'o himself began vomiting blood. Pete kept getting worse and died in a few days. Finding his efforts useless Poso'o returned to Lemoore. Josie in the meantime had been visiting the Pohots (Wukchumni). When she returned she found Poso'o very ill. He kept vomiting blood. He got much worse and went to bed. He knew that Tcehĕmsuk was making him ill. He tried to kill Tcehĕmsuk (from Lemoore) with his supernatural power but his power was gone. He depended on his own power and would get no other doctor to help him. He sang his songs while he lay in bed but nothing came to him. One of his legs became "nothing but wood"; it burned continually; he could not use it. Josie had him taken to the hospital where he died.

"This Tcehĕmsuk was a big doctor, so was his brother. He had poisoned Pete, but it was with his ṭipai (supernatural) power that he kept Poso'o from curing Pete, and finally killed him too."

In the southern part of the San Joaquin valley women doctors occur, though they are relatively rare. The only account of a woman shaman is that of Poi'in, and her son Watisti, told by Frank Manuel,

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a Bankalachi (WM) informant. All informants speak of her as a powerful but good doctor who took part in the doctors' contest against men shamans. Her son, however, to whom she taught all her knowledge, used it for evil purposes:

Wuni was the last chief at the Tule River reservation. He was a Yaudanchi; he was a good man respected by all; he had only a little money.

Watisti had a lot of power. He had "all kinds" of supernatural talismans and dream helpers. He could make rattlesnakes bite people at any time of the year, yet such snakes were not visible to the victim.

Now Watisti disliked Wuni; he was jealous of his popularity. He sent a magic "shot" at Wuni. Though the "shot" entered at one place it scattered sickness all through his body. He died in a few days while Watisti pretended he was trying to cure him.

Upon the death of this chief several men wanted to avail themselves of the opportunity to kill Watisti. The shaman had been accused of several killings but this was the first they could "get" on him. Wuni was the last chief, so they consulted no one. On a Christmas morning under the leadership of Pete Suhusa, Yaudanchi (Y), another Yaudanchi, named Poncho, Bill Waley, a Wobonuch (WM) visiting at the reservation, and Juan Tcinu went to Watisti's house. He lived alone. Tcinu was sent to the house to tell the doctor that some people up the creek wanted to see him. When Tcinu and Watisti reached the spot where the others were in ambush they all shot at the doctor. Watisti had a talisman with him. He pulled it out, waved it, and flew through the air for a little distance but he was shot again and was killed. Watisti's mother had been dead a long time. He had no relatives that anyone can recall except his mother-in-law, who was alive at the time. She was very angry over his death and went about telling relatives of the avengers, "You're going to get a red cane," meaning that the winatum, who carried a cane ornamented with red paint, would be going about announcing their death.

CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

The foregoing accounts give ample evidence of the baleful effect that shamans had upon native life in south central California. That their success was largely due to what was doubtless imaginary powers does not matter; they played an awe-inspiring, dominating rôle whatever its basis. The penalty of death which was dealt shamans did not deter the strong-minded. The acquisition of wealth and power was worth the risk to the man who possessed the talents needed for the fulfilment of his ambitions.

The question naturally arises, what were the relations between the chiefs who wielded legal power, and these impressive non-officials of anti-social activities? As a matter of fact there seems to have been more harmony than conflict owing to a system of reciprocal services; a system which greatly increased the wealth of the chief on the one

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hand, and protected the shaman from the violence of avenging relatives on the other.

In every tribe a powerful shaman was the close friend and associate of the chief. This alliance operated in various ways as the following accounts show. (In an earlier section we referred to the fact that theoretically no one was compelled to contribute to the annual mourning ceremony, or any other ceremony, for that matter, but that dire results often befell those who did not do so.) George Dick, himself of chiefly lineage, and grandson and grandnephew of two powerful shamans, described instances of cooperation of chiefs and shamans among the Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM):

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If a man, especially a rich one, did not join in a fandango, the chief and his doctors would plan to make this man or some member of his family sick. The doctor would sicken his victim with the "air-shot" (toiyus) used in the doctors' contest. The doctor sees to it that he is called in to make the cure. He makes several successive attempts to cure his victim, each time being paid for his services. He withholds his cure until he has financially broken the man and got him in debt. If he then cures the patient he sucks the shot out and shows it to the bystanders, saying that Night or a spring has made him ill.[88] On the other hand, he may let the person die, in which case the family must perforce join in the next mourning ceremony.

The money which the shaman has collected as fees in the case he divides with the chief. Should the victim's relatives seek vengeance, for which they must obtain the chief's permission, the chief refuses his sanction on the ground of insufficient evidence. Hadn't the doctor shown that Night had caused the illness?

The machinations of chiefs and shamans were so well established that it was possible to make arrangements for intertribal killings:

A chief may be jealous of a rich man in another tribe. If he wants him killed he sends his winatum to several other chiefs of near-by tribes, including that of the ill-fated man, asking them to come to a certain place on a certain night. Tawatsanahahi (Baker's Hill) was a favorite spot for these meetings. The various chiefs together with their doctors come at the stated time. There might be ten to fifteen present, including the doctors and the chiefs' trusted winatums.

The chief who called the meeting addresses the group saying that he (and perhaps others) want to do away with this certain man, and asks those present for their opinion in the matter. The people who want the man killed put up a sum of money to pay the doctors who are to do the killing. If the doomed man's chiefs want him saved they have to double this sum and give it to the opposing chiefs. If they do not do so they automatically sanction the man's death. The case is decided right there at the time. Very often such a man is killed not because he is rich but because "he knows too much" (about doings of chiefs, etc.) or because some man wants the victim's wife, and has bribed the chief to have the man killed. If the man is to be killed the doctors start right in to do it. "No matter how far off that man may be the doctors will be able to kill him."[89]

[88] Springs of water frequently made people ill, by sending sickness in the form of a water insect. Night and Water are both personified.

[89] See anecdote, p. 391.

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622 There was still another way in which persons were done away with
756 through chiefs and their shamans:
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754 If one man wanted another killed he would go to a snake doctor just after the snake dance had been held. He would tell the doctor what he wanted and would give him a trust fee. "He gets about $100 if he is a big doctor; $50 if not so big. He is pretty likely to get killed so he asks for a lot." Then the doctor goes and consults his chief. The chief usually gives permission for the man's death after accepting $25 or $30. The doctor again interviews his patron and tells him that he will kill the man whenever desired. The patron sets the date, usually for the fall of the same year. Eventually the victim of the conspiracy is bitten by a rattlesnake sent by the snake doctor, and dies.

The dead man's relatives go at once to their chief (or others, as the snake dance was an intertribal affair) demanding to know how it came about that this man was bitten after having participated in the preventive snake ceremony. If the chief questioned knows the truth he accepts money offered by the inquirers and tells all, even betraying the doctor—for sufficient money. If he knows nothing, or is loyal to the doctor, he refuses the money, and even gives the relatives a small sum to help them find the culprit.

When the doctor is at last discovered the relatives return home. They tell their chief that they want to kill the doctor. He tells them "to get their bows and go
[683] kill that doctor and all his brothers, even if they are innocent. If the brothers aren't killed they'll be sure to do something mean (retaliate). This is a good old Indian law."

A Wukchumni informant[80] gives a briefer version of a similar condition in his own and the neighboring Waudanchi tribe:

The chief always had money. People made him presents when he was going to give a ceremony. If he got short of money he would have his doctor kill somebody who was rich. If the victim chosen belonged to another tribe he would send a gift of money to the chief of that tribe asking that he have his doctor kill the man. If the chief accepted the money he had his doctor proceed with the process of sickening and killing the man. The money received was divided between the chief and the doctor. Doctors who killed this way made sure that the patient would finally send for him by making him more sick for every other doctor that the sick man sent for.

Usually we had good chiefs with good doctors, but sometimes even a good chief would bribe a doctor to kill some man he thought ought to be killed.

The Kechayi informant made a brief statement which hints at the guilt of chiefs in such matters:

Sometimes a doctor would be killed if he lost a patient. A doctor and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the supposed purpose of making an adjustment. A discussion was held and "often the family killed the doctor and his chief right on the spot."

616 Gifford's data on the North Fork Mono of the upper San Joaquin
622 river show an analogous situation in regard to the powers and activi-
756 ties of chiefs and shamans.[81] In this region the moiety organization
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[80] Sam Garfield. [81] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

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of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets ahtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyemal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."

If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

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Joe Pohot, a Wukchumni informant, described his own experience from poisoning as follows. 754 159

Once in the fall of the year Joe got poisoned by some old people who didn't like him. He was shearing sheep near Woodlake (Wukchumni territory). He was sleeping with Sam Garfield and his father at their camp, but they didn't do him any harm. It was somebody else. One morning he awoke to find finger prints on his right forearm and left thigh. These parts began to swell. He went out to work but had to stop after shearing only two sheep. He went over to sit in the shade. The other men at work laughed at him. He got worse continually; he could hardly move. Finally everyone left to go to dinner. Joe couldn't move from where he was. Soon Sam Osborn came along. Seeing Joe he asked him what was the trouble with him. He got some food and a horse and helped him over to Antelope valley where his grandmother and Mollie Lawrence were living. When they reached the camp no one was at home, but Sam had to go on his way. Joe went off to the swamp to find his relatives. He fell into the mud and lay there. He does not remember much here except that his grandmother and Mollie found him and got him home in a wagon.

For one year Joe stayed there too sick to get up; his arm and leg were swollen up and useless. His grandfather had been away. When the old man returned he saw Joe's condition; he told him that someone had grabbed him and put poison on him. The old man gave Joe a steaming. He first got some eagle tallow which was dropped on a hot stone while Joe sat over it wrapped in a blanket. Next he steamed him with a basket of hot water in which tadad (a plant, unidentified) had been soaked. The water was kept boiling with hot stones. Joe remained under the blanket as long as he could stand it. Then he drank some of the decoction. The next morning he was nearly cured but his leg remained drawn up in a crippled fashion. 754 755 159

He stayed crippled a long time. In the meantime his grandfather died. A shaman came by their way. He said he could cure Joe. This doctor had an eagle down rope which he dipped in water and rubbed under Joe's knee; he blew in there too. This caused the joint to open sufficiently for him to get his mouth in to suck. The doctor made a small cut with a piece of glass. He sucked at the wound and got out a lump that looked like a lot of string wrapped around blood. He made a second cut and sucked out another smaller lump. These objects were buried in the ash heap.

The doctor was paid about fifty dollars, thirty of which was in cash, the rest in baskets and blankets. The doctor told Joe that he was going to leave him his own good health, as he himself was going to die soon because he had cured a man that some other doctor had sickened. The doctor did die about a year later. Joe was saved from poisoning a few times after that by waking up in time. [756]

To return to Motsa, the evil Tachi chief, it was largely by the use of poisons that he injured members of his locality, though he possessed some supernatural power. The following account of his life and activities gives us an outward picture of the man's inimical attitude toward his fellowmen. The inward picture of his psychology can only be inferred. 622 754

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622 754 Motsa is described as a man of exceptional stature. None of his immediate relatives are personally recalled, neither father, mother, brothers, nor sisters, save one old woman whom he called sister but who may have been his cousin. His father was an eminent Tachi chief, and Kanti, another Tachi chief, was his mother's cousin.

Josie first remembers Motsa when he was living at Wallace's ranch near Visalia, though she herself was then at the Lemoore rancheria. An old man, Joaquin, was the chief at Wallace's ranch; he was Telamni or Choinuk. While Motsa was there he killed an Indian by putting poison in his shoes. He was paid to do this. The night the man died Motsa came over to the Lemoore rancheria where remnants of the lake tribes were living. The fact that Motsa ran away was considered proof of his guilt; "if he had killed no man he wouldn't have come over here; he'd have stayed down there."

622 754 787 [376] Motsa settled down at the Lemoore rancheria and married Po'oiyuk, a Tachi girl. Thereafter began his dominance over the local group. Motsa had some supernatural power which he obtained in the usual manner. He ate wild tobacco to help his dreams at night. He'd say to his dream, "I want you to give me good luck (or money)." His dream helper told him what his luck would be. He also made use of jimsonweed: he drank a little of it frequently, and always carried a small bit of the root of the plant wrapped up in beads. When he wanted to make himself invisible in order to go about eavesdropping or to place poison on people's clothes he took out his jimsonweed talisman and held it in his hand. Nobody could see him then.

He had a coyote assistant just like a doctor. He had a coyote song which he is said to have learned from a Wukchumni doctor. If Motsa wanted to dream this song he would sing it before he went to bed:

[539]

notci	notci	hatimha	na
friend	friend	dance	I

wiwaohok	sonloni
waving	bunch of feathers held in hand

minimon	kiolin	notci
coming (I)	meeting (you)	friend

tahan	maiya	we	yonina
going	we	?	rainbow

"I'm going to take you up north to the rainbow."

Then Coyote would appear at Motsa's house. He spoke to Motsa.

"You want to go somewhere?"

"Yes." Motsa might be going to meet some doctor friend up in the foothills.

"Well, shut your eyes," Coyote would reply. Then Motsa would get on the coyote's back and wrap his arms around the animal's neck. They would fly off to the place designated. Coyote waited outside during the conference until his passenger was ready to return. The fact that Motsa belonged to the Tokeluwic moiety did not matter as Coyote would help anyone with enough power regardless of their lineage.

If people looked outside their houses at night and saw a coyote they knew that Motsa was about.

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Motsa was not regarded as a doctor but as a poisoner. His supernatural power consisted in knowing of other people's affairs, making himself invisible, and having supernatural helpers. He did no doctors' dances, nor did he ever cure anyone. Neither could he kill with "air-shot," only with poison. But he had many friends who were professional doctors from whom he learned much. Pokoi'ik, a Nutunutu doctor of malicious intent, was his best friend.[62] Many of Motsa's activities were recounted by Josie Alonzo:

1. Motsa and his friend Pokoi'ik went to Hanford where they both got drunk. Motsa said he was going to kill a certain young girl at the ranchería named Solit. She was married to Kaiyŭtsawa and had a baby girl. Soon after the men had been to Hanford where Motsa had made his threat, there was a Portuguese celebration near Lemoore which many Indians attended. Solit was there. Josie Alonzo was sitting across the table from her. Motsa came up and said to Solit, "Why don't you take that bone to your father-in-law?" Bystanders were horrified at this for Solit's father-in-law was dead.

"Why should she take it to a dead man?" they said.

"Well," said Motsa, "she'll be there (in the land of the dead) soon herself." Then he put his hands on the girl's shoulders.

Solit was terrified. Soon she and Josie went over to Josie's house. She became very sick; she tried to urinate but could not; her abdomen swelled up. She knew she was going to die. Later on in the evening Motsa walked into the house. He just stood and looked at Solit; he put his hands up to his shoulders (to remind her of his touch!). Then Josie, Solit, and others there went to bed.

In the middle of the night Solit called to Josie. She was very ill. Motsa suddenly appeared in the room. He wanted to rub the girl to cure her (a common curing methods of doctors) but neither Josie nor Solit would allow him to touch her. They sent for a white doctor but he was too late. When Solit died she had black spots all over her.

Motsa ran away and stayed out for a week as people were threatening to kill him.

2. Halhalis was a big chief (matak tiya) of the Tachi Nutuwic moiety. He was a very good man; he worked hard and saved the money he earned. Motsa was jealous of him because he was younger, and richer, and better-looking than himself. Halhalis gave a big dinner at his house. At this dinner Motsa put poison in his meat and coffee. Halhalis' father-in-law was a very old man who had much supernatural power. He tried every way to cure the poisoned man but it was useless. Halhalis died. All his money was buried with him.

Now Halhalis' father-in-law was a great friend of Josie. He called her daughter, though actually she was a second cousin to him. Soon after Halhalis' death Motsa killed the old man out of spite because he had tried to save Halhalis. Motsa went into his house one night after he had gone to bed. There was a mosquito netting around the bed where the man lay. Motsa just rubbed his hand across the net and the old man began to cough. Motsa ran away when he heard the coughing. The next day the old man told his relatives what had happened; then he vomited blood and died.

3. The next death to be attributed to Motsa was that of Josie's brother, Wepis. Josie and Wepis were sitting in Josie's house one evening just at dusk.

[62] See anecdote, p. 396.

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622 754 The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather headdress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wopis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wopis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Koowa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Koowa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man!" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

[775] 6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him ṭoṭi (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or ṭikitkal (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutal'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

622 The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore rancheria. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

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men he chose. The others were likewise from chiefly lineages. By this time the old life had so completely disappeared that these persons had little to do save make arrangements for mourning ceremonies, which were still continued in an aberrant form. Motsa paid little attention to such duties as his position required, rather utilizing his prestige for his own benefit. Of the other two men appointed, George García, a Wolasi, soon moved up to the foothills; Joaquin, a Tachi, preferred to let the old régime disappear rather than try to carry on alone. The informant says these two men used to talk to Motsa and ask him "not to act so mean," but they could do nothing to stop him for they feared him just as every one else did. If Motsa had lived in a social setting of the old cultural type one can imagine him carrying on his intrigues through a powerful doctor as was the wont of chiefs. 622

Wasapël (Brown Wilson), Motsa's son, is today living at the Lemoore rancherία. He is called tiya (chief) but does not function as such because the old social order has entirely disappeared. Only the lineage rank is remembered. In no respect is he said to resemble his malicious father but is regarded as a good, hard-working, thrifty man. Unfortunately it has so far been impossible to obtain Wilson as an informant. His version of his father's activities would in all probability make an interesting check against Josie's imputations. However, how much is fact and how much prejudice in this informant's tales of Motsa, is of no moment in the present discussion. All our accounts of the activities of malicious doctors and chiefs which are given here represent native attitudes toward these men as a class rather than as individuals.

CONCLUSIONS

The political life of Yokuts and Western Mono as presented in the foregoing pages leaves one with the impression that the condition was unsatisfactory from the point of view of its average citizen. A discussion of this social system may be profitable: first, it should be viewed as a practical political scheme, and secondly, as a cultural mechanism. 182

1. By a practical political scheme I mean a system which kept social order to the advantage and comfort of the majority, not from a general, humanitarian, or idealistic point of view but in terms of this particular culture. The civilization of the Indians of California has always been regarded as low, that is, extremely simple. It is,

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182 relatively speaking. And the political institutions of Yokuts and Western Mono were perhaps as simple as any in California. Clans [614] were lacking. The moiety, where it existed, regulated marriage and [616] ceremonial participation. Patrilineal families dwelt together in permanent villages but owned no land other than an ill-defined tribal area. [592] The household group was not large; normally its personnel included a married couple, their immature offspring, and a possible orphaned sister of either spouse, or an aged relative. A husband and father was head of his own household affairs but bowed to the opinion of elder male relatives when the entire lineage was involved. These families were entirely free to go about their daily pursuits of hunting, fishing, seed gathering, basket, pottery, and tool making, seeking of supernatural experience, gambling, or idling, without interference from officials. There were none to interfere. The sense of right and 182 wrong, of duty to one's relatives and neighbors, was instilled in 869 children as they grew up. Truthfulness, industry, a modest opinion of oneself, and above all, generosity, were regarded not so much as [577] positive virtues as essential qualities. Informants today condemn those who are greedy, jealous, or egotistical. It was largely upon the personal character of individuals that the peace of a community depended.

692 Legal authority over the people at large was wielded by chiefs and their henchmen, the winatums. The chief's power was expressed as 622 a general jurisdiction having a paternal-judiciary aspect. He made 624 decisions on village or tribal affairs such as holding fandangos, or building a new sweat-house, he settled interfamily disputes, and granted permission for death punishments. His judgment operated in place of fixed laws. The winatums were the coordinating element in the interrelationship of the people and their chiefs: they were the universal joint in the social machinery. Their official activities were many, as executing orders from the chief, making announcements, carrying private and public messages between individuals and tribes, directing camp organization, and managing all phases of ceremonial activity. The presence or absence of the minor officials, subchiefs, and dance managers, made little difference in the powers of chiefs or the freedom of citizens. In other words, the chiefs, with their winatums as manipulating instruments, constituted the sole legal authority in the political system of south central California.

671 We have spoken of the complete lack of formulated law in Yokuts and Western Mono society. This is scarcely overstating the case, for

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the life-for-a-life rule was the nearest approach to a definite law, and this was applied only when the opinion of chiefs and elders saw its justification. By what means, then, were peace and public satisfaction maintained? Largely by means of an influence which had no legal basis, the fear of sorcery. This factor in civil life worked for public good; it was an awe-inspiring force itself, and served as a tool for chiefs when used by them through their shamans. The fear of sorcery operated between any one individual and another. If, as we have said, the peace of a community depended largely upon the personal character of each person, the personal character in turn was determined or molded by belief in supernatural powers which could be turned against one. A man dared not cheat another at gambling or trading, commit adultery, or neglect any civil or ceremonial duty toward his neighbor, lest the offended person visit sickness or death upon him or some member of his family, either by his own power or that of a shaman hired for the purpose. On the other hand, a man could not take offense for no reason, and retaliate by this means unless completely justified, for the matter would eventually be aired before the chief. Thus sorcery as a deterrent of crime kept a balance of peace in everyday life.

This seems to leave shamans holding the whip hand. One tends to envisage the life of Yokuts and Western Mono as shadowed by the constant threat of witchcraft. It was; but this does not mean that an individual lived in a perpetual state of anxiety and dread. The idea of malevolent sorcery was a commonplace in their lives: one took care not to bring its force down upon oneself. But their attitude to it may be likened to our own to, say, bacteria, automobiles, or gas, dangers to which we are so accustomed that they are given little conscious thought though they unquestionably modify our behavior. And shamanism in native life was no less a necessity than these useful hazards of our own civilization. A doctor might be able to kill one, but at the same time he had the ability to cure sicknesses brought about by other agents such as Night, Springs, ghosts, or other supernatural creatures. It was hard to give up money, baskets, or a prized possession to him, but it was harder still to be sick unto death. And the majority of doctors were not malicious. It is only of bad shamans that informants tell their tragic tales, and these men were of course blamed for many misfortunes for which they were not responsible. A good shaman who found that his patient was not recovering would frankly say he had not the power, and suggest that another be called.

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If he met with one or two failures he gave up his practice entirely, or at least until he had strengthened his contact with the supernatural. Such a man was free of suspicion. The doctor who continued to cure after losing patients was the one to be feared for he was causing illness just to make money in curing, without regard for public welfare. But the doctor whose avidity led him to such extremes was done away with on slight evidence; he had but a tenuous hold on life. Hence the men who were willing to risk their lives in this manner for personal aggrandizement were more rare than informants' accounts would lead us to think. To sum up, shamanism as a factor in political life acted as a deterrent upon crime, was a force which preserved as well as destroyed life, and its misuse was restrained by the threat of discovery and subsequent death.

Turning to the intrigues of chiefs and shamans, it will be seen that there was some justification for the alliance. A chief who hired a shaman to sicken a rich man who did not join in the expenses of a fandango or mourning ceremony was setting a public example at the same time that he was enriching himself. To the chief and to his shaman, who shared the money paid in fees by the sick man, it was unquestionably a matter of financial profit. But from the point of view of the public at large it was a fair punishment. Thus: a man of money who neglected or refused to bear his share of a public expense was placing a heavier financial burden upon his fellow-citizens; furthermore, generosity was an ideal, and the man who failed to contribute his share was showing himself to be greedy, and hence received no sympathy if misfortune befell him. In the absence of any law or system of taxation, it behooved each citizen, especially those of wealth, to participate in the sharing of public expenses, lest he incur the displeasure of the chief and of the public, and sickness or death be visited upon him.

The chief, however, in his turn could not unrestrainedly make use of malevolent supernatural power. He was a public figure, and as such was open to censure. Though his position was acquired by inheritance, his retention of it depended upon his conduct. Simple as was the civilization of Yokuts and Western Mono, upon the chief, as official executor, devolved all manner of responsibilities—and these were not easy. Take for example, the management of a mourning ceremony in which the chief's own village, other villages, and even other tribes were involved. The financial resources of all persons concerned had to be determined, and the intertribal exchange of

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money and food so adjusted that there was no unexpected loss to any of the participants. These matters, together with the wishes of other chiefs, the bereaved families, and guest tribes had to be managed to the satisfaction of all persons involved. This in itself is not so difficult, save that it called for executive talents which every man might not possess. 182 622

The greatest responsibility of a chief was the settlement of quarrels and granting permission to kill a supposed murderer. This responsibility was increased rather than lessened by the absence of codified legal system. A chief making an unsatisfactory decision could not excuse it on the ground that he was simply reading the law; he was personally responsible for the results of his counsel. To this end, he did not always depend upon his own judgment but sought the opinion of another chief or of respected elders. The hearing of cases did not take place publicly, but in or before the chief's house. This privacy did not matter, for a man who left dissatisfied aired his grievance to his neighbors. The community was small: there was little chance for secrecy, what one man knew, everybody knew. Lacking newspapers, gossip was rife. Popular sentiment turned against the chief who gave unfair decisions, or was suspected of self-aggrandizement. Such a man was not deposed from office, but gradually lost prestige. He was ignored in favor of another chief. If necessary, a new chief could be selected from among possible heirs, as a brother, or son, or even a cousin. Such a drastic procedure was rare, unless the incumbent were insensible. The chief, holding the highest place of respect in the community, would not care to lose it. Loss of respect, loss of prestige, in turn meant loss of wealth, a combination of disasters which no normal man wished to bring upon himself. The intriguing chief could and did hold office, but his selfish enterprises were carried on in secrecy and curbed by public opinion. 622 [692] [623] 622 627 [203] [558]

The foregoing discussion has attempted to demonstrate the factors in the political system of Yokuts and Western Mono culture whereby orderly social activity was maintained. The activities of its citizens were at once protected and restrained by two forces, one, based upon legality, the traditional authority vested in the chief; the other, based upon belief in sorcery, the occult power wielded largely by shamans. Chiefs and shamans, who sometimes combined these two forces in intrigue were in turn restrained in their activities by the threat of loss of prestige, and of untimely death. 182 626

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182 626 2. In the first part of this paper the elements of Yokuts and Western Mono political life were dealt with in a purely descriptive manner. These elements have just been viewed as functioning parts of a working social system. They are now to be considered as functioning parts in their particular cultural mechanism. By cultural mechanism I mean the cooperation of elements within a culture, which, once established, exercise a force of their own that makes the cultural conformation persist as it is or trend in a certain direction. This phenomenon is fundamentally psychological and may be expressed in terms of habit, association of ideas, and conditioned behavior. But knowing this to be true, the cultural mechanism may be dealt with as such in its own sphere without translation into psychological terms, just as psychological processes may be considered without reduction to physiological terms. Granted that for psychological reasons the mental content of an individual is furnished by his surroundings we can turn to features in the milieu, in this case those of political life, and see them as coherent, interrelating parts of the cultural mechanism. In the situation under consideration we have the following concepts [773] as factors in Yokuts-Western Mono political life: (1) on the side of the supernatural, a belief in Eagle as creator-in-chief of a primordial world inhabited by superhuman, superanimal creatures, a belief that these creatures exercise a power over present-day humans and their activities, that their power can be propitiated for benevolent and malevolent purposes, and that certain individuals (shamans) have particular control over this supernatural power; (2) on the social side, a totemic lineage system, a chief and a winatum as legal officials, the control of chiefs over ceremonial activities, class equality, economic ease, and generosity as an ideal. Negative elements will be mentioned as we discuss the interplay of the above factors.

As concepts in the system of thought (behavior) of any Yokuts or Western Mono the above factors are interrelated in a variety of [773] ways. Thus: (1) Eagle is believed to be the supreme creator-chief. This belief is expressed in a series of tales which contain tribal lore, present the facts of history as these are believed to be, and at the same time show the precedent for the established social system with eagle as chief, dove as winatum, owl as shaman, and so on. (2) A totemic [614] [825] lineage system determined the kin group: each person was born into a family which had an animal or bird as its particular symbol; this association had tangible expression in the daily acts of the person, he refrained from killing or eating the animal, he prayed to it,

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dreamed of it if he wanted its protection and aid, and, during ceremonials he wore a paint-pattern representing its appearance. Furthermore, if he belonged to a certain lineage, eagle, dove, bear, snake, or coyote, he had certain functions to perform which were his prerogatives. It will be seen that these factors and their interplay made up the chief's position. Eagle was chief; a person with eagle totem should be chief; the totem was derived from lineage membership; lineage membership was expressed in a number of private and ceremonial acts. This series of interrelating factors fortified each other's persistence in the cultural mechanism. To put it differently, if the chief as an institution were regarded as unsatisfactory, and a conscious desire for a change sprang into existence, the change could not be made without flying in the face of established concepts expressed in other associations, as that of Eagle as chief in mythology and ritualistic practices, or of totem with lineage which occurred in every family, or of function with totem and lineage which operated not only in the case of eagle-chief but was a fundamental factor in ceremonial activities, as the bear, snake, beaver, and coyote dances. Whatever is said here in regard to the chief in his position is equally true for the winatum.

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The shaman's place in society was the result of some of the same concepts recombined with others. The lineage factor did not enter in his case. The concept expressed in mythology of Owl as a prehistoric shaman, plus the whole "constellation of ideas" surrounding the supernatural world and its relation to the real world, gave the shaman his place. Thus: the supernatural world was accessible through dream experiences; any individual might try to establish contact with it; some persons had more ability to do this than others; the more frequent the contact the more supernatural power was acquired; a few individuals accumulated so much power that they could use it to aid or injure others; such men made their livelihood by using this power, and these were shamans. The human organism being what it is, sickness and death attack it; these being undesirable states and attributable to supernatural causes such as the illwill of Eagle, Ghosts, Night, Springs, or Lightning, the shaman as a skilled practitioner with supernatural forces must be called upon to relieve them. Dangerous as an individual doctor might be, the institution of shamanism had to be endured; to do away with it would be unthinkable in the Yokuts-Mono system of thought. The fact that the supernatural world was available to any one, and that the average citizen sought and had dream experiences, simply strengthened extant con-

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182 756 ceptions of shamanism and the supernatural. There could be no doubt as to the shaman's experiences, since every one had them in milder or less frequent forms. The mysteries of shamanistic tricks may have been doubted by a skeptic or two, but the public shamans' contest was ocular evidence of their powers to kill and to revive. By such demonstrations was popular belief maintained and fortified.

182 626 671 262 The lack of codified law was related, I think, to two different factors, an easy subsistence and generosity as an ideal. These two factors themselves may have been mutually interactive. Before white intrusion, game, acorns, seeds, and tule root formed an abundant food supply in the San Joaquin valley; there are no famine tales from this area. It would seem that this condition may account for the lack of definite property areas. There was no need to set up a boundary if there were nothing of special value to protect. If a food shortage had occurred, or an unexpected invasion taken place, competition for acorn, seed, or game areas would have stimulated or necessitated property ownership. Besides the lack of property laws, the custom of giving food to visitors, of returning value for value if a present were received, reduced the chances for theft, against which a formal law might have been established. Viewed from another angle these cultural habits may be regarded as laws; they were such in effect, but were not verbally formulated. From the point of view of their own culture the giving of food at any time, the giving of gifts, and especially the casting away of both at the annual mourning ceremony, were customs of courtesy expressing the ideal of generosity. Equality of rank among the people at large, that is, the absence of a class system, expressed the nullity of codified social law.

[574] 431] [431] [565]

182 773 829 The lack of clearly defined concepts in Yokuts-Western Mono life may itself be regarded as a cultural form, an expression of thought habits. There existed a coherent system of thought which appeared in their mythology, their social system, and their ceremonial life. But the system was not ramified by specific ideas; thus, Eagle created the world and flew off, but whether he flew north, south, east, or west is of no moment to the Yokuts mind. He went above say some, or possibly to the east, another says to the west. That Eagle and all his former companions still exist is attested by the dream experiences of dozens of individuals; it doesn't matter where they are. The same laxity of thought prevails in the legal system: a chief makes a decision in a quarrel, but his next decision may or may not follow the precedent set in the former case. The respected elders of a village exercise

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a practical control over the chief's decisions, or the activities of their younger fellow-citizens. But their position is not defined, they hold no office, their influence is entirely a matter of personality. This lack of interest in defininig, in the specific, in analysis, or in marshaled ideas, constituted a strong factor in the cultural mechanism; it kept the other factors in their respective positions. Ideas of the supernatural world interlocking with political practices were not weakened by a critical attitude in the public mind. I do not for a moment mean that there were not skeptical persons who consciously questioned the values of their own culture, but rather that the chances for such minds to occur were rare since there was no stimulus to critical thought. They not only had little chance to develop, but were rendered ineffectual in a cultural setting whose norm of thought was non-analytical.

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It is to be noted that the term complex has not been used in connection with the integrated traits under consideration, for they do not form a complex in the usual sense of the word. The features might be so aligned as to form say, a totemic complex, for the sake of using a label, but such a segregation would be artificial from the native point of view. Moreover, the emphasis here is not upon the relationship within the group of traits forming the "complex" but rather the relationship of those traits with other phases of the total culture. That is, the importance lies not in the fact that the supremacy of Eagle is expressed in a number of different ways, but in the intra-cultural distribution of those expressions. Since integrations must occur in all cultures, those presented here are not intended to appear as anything unusual; they are merely pointed out. Yet integration may occur to a greater or lesser extent. Hence it may be asked: is there any correlation between degree of integration and strength of persistence of the complex?

The interaction of culture elements which make them self-persistent in a mechanistic sense does not rest in a static surrounding. There are constant minor changes taking place within the culture itself, or new elements migrate into it by diffusion. What internal or external factors upset the balance of the cultural mechanism, what new conformation the old culture pattern takes, can only be determined by specific cases. Unfortunately we have no case at present to demonstrate a situation in which the cultural mechanism changed its operations and produced a mutation of the old pattern. The changes brought about by white intrusion are at once too complex

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and too devastating to make suitable exemplary material in the present study. But there is at least one historical case on record for Yokuts and Western Mono wherein the old social pattern was maintained in the face of a new and imposing cultural phenomenon, the disturbing influence of the Ghost Dance of 1870, which was diffused throughout the greater part of the San Joaquin valley. The medium and course of its diffusion, and the process of acculturation which it underwent, have been dealt with in a separate paper.[64] For our present purpose only its effects on political life are of interest, and in this case the effects were negative. The cultural mechanism in operation at the introduction of the Ghost Dance continued to function; new ceremonial items were converted into local concepts,[65] though the new dance form was accepted.

The phases of the Ghost Dance which bore upon the local political and social system were its method of diffusion and the social problems raised in holding its large assemblies. In both cases the chiefs were the controlling factors. The first news of the cult to reach the western slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains was brought by traders. No attention was paid to this. A few months later a North Fork Mono chief who had been converted to the messianic faith by a Paiute apostle visited Western Mono and Yokuts tribes of the San Joaquin river to proselytize. This he did by making public speeches, sending winatums about to near-by tribes, and "making" a Ghost Dance at a site in his own territory. The Paiute apostle was with him to preach the doctrine, but it was the chief who acted as instigator and ceremonial leader. The same process went on at the next point of diffusion toward the south, Eshom valley, in Waksachi territory. Here the actual enthusiasts were a number of Wobonuch and Entimbich singers. But regardless of their conviction that the Ghost Dance must be made, that the "father" and host of dead were returning, they proceeded in the usual manner to get permission from the local chiefs, Takac, Laoteu'i, and Hamate, to hold the dance. Takac called his brother, Kocowi, a powerful shaman, into conference and it was agreed to hold the dance. The preparations were made by Takac through his winatums though it was the group of singers who were the real instigators. Takac's winatums carried invitations a great

[64] Gayton, *op. cit.*

[65] These were briefly: the identification of the "father" with Eagle or Tuwawiya; the land of the dead described as that of a Yokuts-Western Mono myth; the use of the local sacred number six instead of five; use of totemic paint patterns; shamans as special communicators with the supernatural world; and turning into a log of wood if one fell asleep.

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distance south and west, they arranged for a food supply, and during the week of ceremonial managed the camp organization. In the meantime the singers visited near-by towns, spreading the new faith. When the dance was actually held, Takac, the chief, made a preliminary address; he told the assembled people why they were there and what they were going to do. Then he turned the meeting over to a Ghost Dance apostle, as he would have done had it been a local ceremonial such as a shaman's contest, huhuna dance, etc. Kocowi, the shaman, presumably in the guise of a person familiar with the supernatural, occasionally addressed the multitude. Otherwise shamans took no active part in the dancing but remained by themselves while they exerted their occult powers to get news from the supernatural world. From time to time their winatums reported to the assembly what news the shamans had received.

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The excessive size of the Ghost Dance assemblies might well have upset the normal ceremonial organization. The fanatical converts might have carried out their proselytizing without consulting the chiefs. The chiefs lost nothing of dignity or prestige in the face of Eagle's or Tuwawiya's (the "father's") expected return. In fact, the chiefs as ceremonial leaders not only were responsible for the holding of Ghost Dances but were responsible for their discontinuance as well. After a year or more of united effort by the greater part of the Yokuts-Western Mono population, the predicted results were apparently not forthcoming. The people were physically wearied, and were neglecting their hunting and household duties, all to no purpose. Seeing this the chiefs called their people together and in the interests of public welfare asked them to stop holding Ghost Dances. The cult was worn out, and except for individuals who occasionally sang the Ghost Dance songs in the privacy of their houses, was put aside as a thing of the past.

The diffusion of the Ghost Dance in south central California offers a specific case wherein the established cultural mechanism continued to function under the stress of a highly disturbing influence. Chiefs, shamans, and winatums, wielding their official and occult powers, carried on their customary rôles in political and social life. We cannot, of course, be certain that this persistence was due to the network of beliefs ramifying these institutions. But at least it can be said that the persistence occurred, and that the social traits involved were integrated with the mythology, lineage system, and ceremonies of Yokuts-Mono culture.

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APPENDIX

INFORMANTS AND GENEALOGIES

115 Names and approximate ages of contributing informants, and the tribes on which they gave data are:

Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi (WM); Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich (all Y); Josie Alonso, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunutu (all Y); Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna (Y); Big Jim Alto, 70, Hometwoli (Y); Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu (both Y); Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti (Y); Dinky, 55, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi (both Y); Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni (both Y); Jim Britches, 70, Mollie Lawrence, 70, and Mary Pohot, 55, all Wukchumni (Y); Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni (Y) and Patwisha (WM); Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi (both Y); Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); George Dick, 40, Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM); Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi (WM); Joe Waley, 75, Jane Waley, 65, and 'Merican Joe, 80, all Wobonuch (WM).

In the following genealogies women are indicated by the biological symbol ♀; marriage by +; tribal affiliations other than that of the lineage appear in parentheses; names recurring in different generations are in italics.

Genealogies Waksachi 1 and Entimbich show the progression of chieftainship and the inheritance of individual names. In Waksachi 1, generations C and D, the chieftainships of Palaha and Claude, respectively, are questioned. On the death of preceding chiefs, Teaume and Wakit, Palaha was too young to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently the nearest relative, Helteap, a cousin (regarded as brother), was chosen. Helteap upon his death passed the office to his son Claude though it should have reverted to Palaha. Claude claims the office as direct heir of the last chief but is upheld only by his immediate family and intimate friends. Other Indians, whether Waksachi or of neighboring tribes, regard Palaha as chief not only because he is the oldest living member of the true chiefly lineage but because of his highly respected character.

Genealogy Waksachi 2 shows an unusual case of three generations of shamans. Supernatural power was not inherited. This case indicates, perhaps, an inheritance of a disposition suitable for the profession.

Intertribal marriages are notable in all the genealogies.

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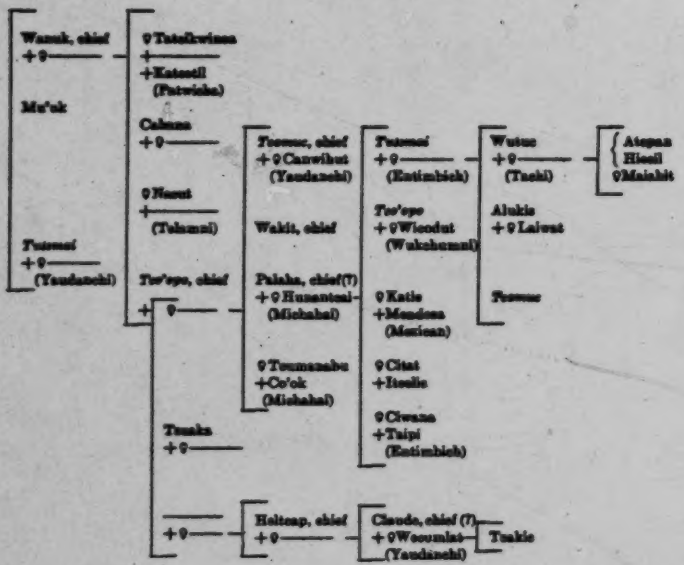
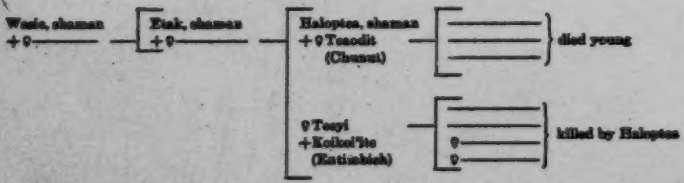
WESTERN MONO: WAKBACHI 1



WESTERN MONO: WAKBACHI 2*

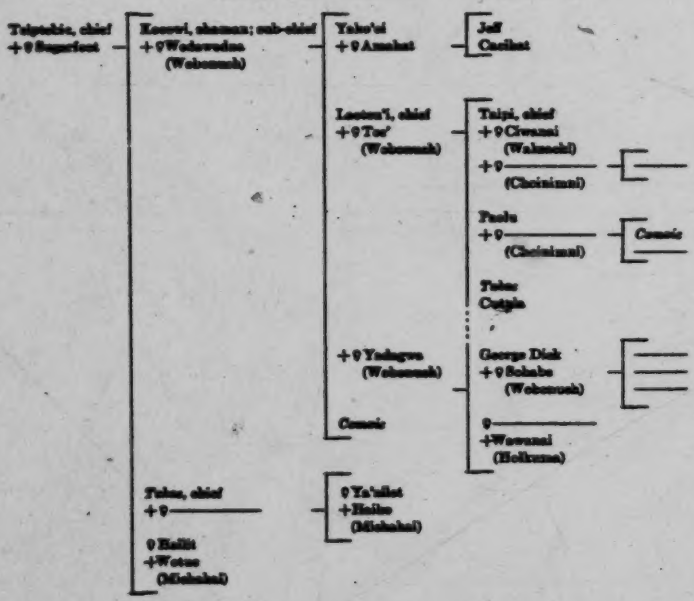


* See anecdotes, pp. 383-384.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

601

YOKUTS: ENTIMBICH



YOKUTS: TACHI